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Byzantine Monemvasia

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Haris Kalligas

Byzantine Monemvasia

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Abstract

The study examines the history of the city of Monemvasia, situated in the South-Eastern Peloponnese, from its foundation in the 6th century A.D. until the year 1460.

Chapter 1 deals with the foundation of the city. The sources which refer to it are analyzed, mainly the Chronicle of Monemvasia, which places the foundation during the reign of emperor Maurice by refugees from the city of Lacedaemonia and connects it with attacks by the Slavs. It is concluded that the foundation should be placed about three decades earlier.

Chapter 2 compiles existing information on Monemvasia from the 6th to the end of the 12th century, which shows that it had developed into an important port of the Byzantine empire and that some of its institutions had survived from antiquity.

Chapter 3 deals with the activity of the Franks in the Peloponnese after 1204, their relations with Monemvasia and the role of a series of local rulers. The chronology of the conquest of the city by the Franks is defined and the events that led to its recovery in 1262 are presented.

Chapter 4 comprises information on the period 1282-1380, when Monemvasia gained most of its wealth and importance. A series of documents issued by the byzantine emperors are presented and analyzed, as well as the privileges granted.

Chapter 5 refers to the years 1380-1460 when the advance of the Turks, local rebellions and ecclesiastical controversies seem to have led to a decline of the city despite some intellectual activity. It describes the move of the local authorities to bring the city under papal protection after the submission of the Peloponnese to the Turks in 1460.

Chapter 6 concerns the ecclesiastical history of Monemvasia, the evolution of its See and analyzes the imperial documents which granted it important privileges.

Preface

This research on the history of Monemvasia started several years ago as a consequence of a professional occupation with the rehabilitation of houses there. Originally it had a completely different form and the material gathered gradually covered many aspects of its long history. Part of the material concerned the political and ecclesiastical history, and part of it in turn is the subject of the present study, which covers the period from the foundation of Monemvasia in the 6th century A.D. up to 1460, when it came under papal protection.

I thank Professor Donald Nicol for accepting to supervise this thesis leading to its submission to the University of London, for the confidence he showed during the long time it took to complete and for his substantial help and advice.

To the friendly incitement of Professor Charalambos and Dr. Laskarina Bouras I owe the fact that I started to study systematically Monemvasia's history. I thank them not only for that but also for their constant interest and encouragement at moments of disappointment.

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Abbreviations

<u>AASS</u>	<u>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</u>
<u>ABME</u>	<u>Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος</u>
<u>ΑΔ</u>	<u>Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</u>
<u>AE</u>	<u>Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς</u>
<u>An.Boll.</u>	<u>Analecta Bollandiana</u>
<u>B</u>	<u>Byzantion</u>
<u>BCH</u>	<u>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</u>
<u>BHG</u>	<u>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</u>
<u>BHL</u>	<u>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</u>
<u>BNJB</u>	<u>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</u>
Bonn	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1828-97)
<u>BSA</u>	<u>Annual of the British School at Athens</u>
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</u>
<u>BZ</u>	<u>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>XHE</u>	<u>Χριστιανική καὶ Ἡθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια</u>
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (Berlin-Rome - Washington-Vienna, 1967-)
<u>XTM</u>	<u>Chronicle of the Morea</u>
<u>ΔΧΑΕ</u>	<u>Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</u>
<u>ΔΙΕΕ</u>	<u>Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος</u>

<u>D.O.C.</u>	<u>Diplomatari de l' Orient Català</u>
<u>DOP</u>	<u>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</u>
<u>EEBS</u>	<u>Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</u>
<u>EMA</u>	<u>Επετηρίς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου της Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν</u>
<u>EO</u>	<u>Echos d'Orient</u>
<u>GRBS</u>	<u>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</u>
<u>JÖB</u>	<u>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</u>
<u>JÖBS</u>	<u>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</u>
<u>MEFRA</u>	<u>Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome (Antiquité)</u>
<u>MGHSS</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores</u>
<u>NE</u>	<u>Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων</u>
<u>OCP</u>	<u>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</u>
<u>ΠΑΕ</u>	<u>Πρακτικά της Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας</u>
<u>PG</u>	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graecolatina.</u>
<u>PLP</u>	<u>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</u>
<u>RE</u>	<u>Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie</u>
<u>REB</u>	<u>Revue des Études Byzantines</u>
<u>RESEE</u>	<u>Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes</u>
<u>RIS</u>	<u>Muratorī, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</u>
<u>RSBN</u>	<u>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</u>

<u>TM</u>	<u>Travaux et Mémoires</u>
<u>VV</u>	<u>Vizantijskij Vremenik</u>
<u>ZRVI</u>	<u>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog instituta</u>

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Introduction

The interests of Byzantine chronographers were always centered on the Capital rather than on distant provinces like the Peloponnese and consequently the examination of Monemvasia's history is faced with the difficulty that the relevant information is fragmentary and confused. Further difficulties are posed by peculiarities of the various historical periods. Concerning the foundation of Monemvasia, which has always been related to the raids of the Slavs, the sources are few and laconic but the literature is vast. Little information has survived on the centuries up to the Frankish conquest and is mainly found in hagiographic sources. The preference shown by historians for certain sources on the Frankish rule has left lot of information unexploited. For the Palaeologan period the confusion has deepened on account of the fact that a number of imperial and patriarchal documents have been considered forged.

Up to now there has been no general study on the history of Byzantine Monemvasia and the effort in the following pages will be the analysis of existing sources

and their evaluation and correlation, in the hope that certain facts could be established, illuminating the evolution of the city and its importance within the Byzantine Empire.

Chapter 1 . The foundation of Monemvasia

I . Laconia up to the 6th century

In the Roman Empire Laconia, along with the rest of the Peloponnese, was part of the province of Achaia, which belonged to the Illyricum and depended administratively from Rome. In the 4th century following the division of the Empire, it came under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. Its church, however, remained under the ecclesiastical administration of Rome.¹

The cities of the Peloponnese seem to have prospered during the long period of peace from Augustus's time up to the 3d century and for Laconia this is attested by numerous sources. Pausanias in his "Travels" gives a detailed account of Sparta with its territory and smaller settlements and of the cities of the federation called the Eleutherolacones with their territory, which covered the southern Peloponnese from Parnon to Messenia. Both Sparta and the Eleutherolacones had managed to preserve the privileges of municipal autonomy, which elsewhere in the

¹ A. Bon, Le Péloponnèse Byzantin jusqu'en 1204 (Paris, 1951), pp. 1-26.

Empire had began to disappear.¹ (Pl. 3)

In the 4th century, after the destructive attack of the Goths and Herouli in 267-8, Sparta had recovered and, due to the conservatism that always characterized the area, it appears to have preserved the old customs and institutions.²

It is not easy to estimate the extent of the destruction caused by the next barbaric attack, by the Goths in the late fourth century. The city seems,

¹ Pausanias, III, 11,1-22,1, ed. J.H.C. Schubart (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881), pp. 218-63; Strabo, VIII, 5,1-6,1, ed.-tr. H.L. Jones (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1961), IV, 148-50; Pliny, Natural History, IV, 15-17, ed. H. Rackham (London-Cambridge Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1961), II, 128-30; K.M.T. Chrimes, Ancient Sparta. A reexamination of the evidence (Manchester, 1949), pp. 56-83, 435-41; Paul Cartledge, Sparta and Laconia. A regional History 1300-362 B.C. (London-Boston and Henley, 1979), pp. 322-23; I.G. Taïfacos, "Οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων (IGV1 1146)," Ἑλληνικός Λόγος, 1 (1973), 345-51; I.G. Taïfacos, Ρωμαϊκή πολιτική ἐν Λακωνίᾳ (Athens, 1974), pp. 23-39; "Sparta. Geschichte," Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1894ff), III A, cols. 1447-1528; "Eleutherolakones," RE, V, col. 2353; "Eleutherolacones," Ch. Daremberg-E. Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grécques et Romaines (Paris, 1892ff), II 1, col. 582a; A.H.M. Jones, The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian (Oxford, 1940), pp. 129, 324 n. 63; A.H.M. Jones, Sparta (Oxford, 1967), pp. 165-66; Bon, Péloponnèse, 10-17.

² Bon, Péloponnèse, 5, 6, 13; Jones, Sparta, 165-66; Taïfacos, Ρωμαϊκή πολιτική, 37-39; Manto Karamezzini -Oiconomidou, "Μία μαρτυρία διὰ τὴν κáθοδον τῶν Ἑρούλων εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην τὸ 267 μ. Χ.," Χαριστήριον εἰς Α.Κ. Ὀρλάνδον, III (Athens, 1966), pp. 376-82.

however, to be thriving. Lacedaemon, as it was usually called, was a large Roman city, the See of a bishopric, and is mentioned by the Synekdemosis of Hierokles as the "metropolis of the Laconiké", which proves that up to the 6th century it continued to be the most important city in the area.¹

II . The Chronicle of Monemvasia

In 1749 a Chronicle, which among others, mentioned the abandonment of Lacedaemonia during the 6th century and the foundation of a new town, Monemvasia, was published for the first time, from a manuscript in the Library of Turin. The contents of the manuscript, half of which concerned Monemvasia, indicated its origin from there as well as a special interest

¹ Bon, Péloponnèse, 9, 13-14, 17, 23; Ernst Honigsmann ed., Le Synekdemosis d' Hieroklès et l' Opuscule Géographique de Georges de Chypre (Brussels, 1939), p. 18; Ch. Bouras, "City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture," Acts of the 16th International Byzantine Congress, I 2 (Vienna, 1981), pp. 621-22; T.E. Gregory, "Fortification and Urban Design in Early Byzantine Greece," City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era, ed. R.L. Hohlfelder (New York, 1982), pp. 54-55; E.C. Chryssos, "Οἱ Βησιγότθοι στὴν Πελοπόννησο (396-397 μ.Χ.)," Acts of the 2nd International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies, II (Athens, 1981-2), pp. 181-91. Bibliography on Laconia has been collected in: Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαί, 2 (1975), 417-87.

of the owner for the town's history.¹ The text of the Chronicle, which has been called Chronicle of Monemvasia is composed of two parts; one, which is a continuous narration of Avar and Slav invasions during the reign of emperor Maurice and the diaspora of the inhabitants of some Peloponnesian towns, as well as the recovery of control by the central administration two centuries later, and a second, which has no connection with the first and is a series of notices

¹ G. Pasini, A. Rivautella, F. Berta, Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei (Turin, 1749), pp. 417-18. Description pp. 417-33. Contents: f. 1: "On the foundation of Monemvasia"; f. 8: Office of Saint Anthony the Younger, a local saint of Monemvasia; f. 27: Office of Saint Theophanes, a local saint of Monemvasia; f. 54: Three "edifying to the soul" narrations by Paul bishop of Monemvasia; f. 58: Synodicon of Monemvasia; f. 61: Synodical decision of 1570 on the dispute between Monemvasia and Christianoupolis for the bishopric of Androusa. From f. 67 to the end, f. 135, the contents had no relation with Monemvasia. Pasini, p. 417, suggested that the manuscript belonged to the Monemvasiot Gabriel Seviros, metropolitan of Philadelphia in the 16th century, since the majority of his manuscripts came to the Library of Turin after his death. Cf. A Sterghellis, "Ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Γαβριήλ Σεβήρου καὶ ἡ ρύθμιση τῶν χρῶν του (1617-1647)," Θησαυρίσματα, 9 (1969), 182-200, esp. 195. The presence among the contents of the decision of 1570, F. Miklosich-J. Müller, Acta et diplomata medi aevi sacra et profana, (Vienna, 1860-1890), V, 175-78, points to its ownership earlier by Macarios Melissenos, metropolitan of Monemvasia in the 16th century, involved in the dispute for which the decision was issued and presumed forger of Monemvasia's documents. He must have taken it with him when he left Monemvasia in 1571 and given it to Seviros in Venice in March 1575, J.K. Chassiotis, Μακάριος, Θεόδωρος καὶ Νικηφόρος οἱ Μελισσηνοί (Μελισσοῦργοί) (Thessaloniki, 1966), p. 52. The manuscript perished during a fire in the Library in 1904.

concerning the metropolis of Lacedaemonia starting from 1260.¹ For almost a century after its first publication the Chronicle remained practically unnoticed until Fallmerayer based on it his theories concerning the extent of the Slav penetration into the Peloponnese. The disputes that followed still last.²

In 1884 Spyridon Lampros discovered two other versions of the same text in Mount Athos. The first in a manuscript in the Kutlumus monastery, very similar to the Turin version and also from Monemvasia. The second was found in Iberon and contains only the first part on the Avar and Slav attacks. This version has been considered by modern historians to be the oldest and also to be nearest to the original source

¹ S.P. Lampros, "Τό περί τῆς κτίσεως τῆς Μονεμβασίας Χρονικόν," Ἱστορικά Μελετήματα (Athens, 1884 rpt 1979), pp. 98-108.

² J.P. Fallmerayer, Fragmente aus dem Orient (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1845), II, 367-458, esp. 412-15; Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1830 rpt. Hildesheim, 1965), pp. III-XIV, 191-92. On the controversy: Ivan Dujcev, Cronaca di Monembasia (Palermo, 1976), pp. XI-XXXVI; bibliographical additions: A. Marcopoulos, Ἑλληνικά, 30 (1977-8), 477-80; M. Kordosis, "Σλαβική ἐποίκησις μέ βάση τὰ Σλαβικά τοπωνύμια," Δωδώνη, 10 (1981), 381-429. Cf. Sp. Vryonis Jr., "Recent Scholarship on continuity and discontinuity of culture: Classical Greeks, Byzantines, Modern Greeks," Byzantina-Metabyzantina, 1 (1978), 237-56.

of the Chronicle.¹

Despite the fact that other sources do not associate the abandonment of Lacedaemonia and the foundation of Monemvasia with the Slavs, their mention by the Chronicle has always led (the) historians to

¹ Both versions were published and commented by Lampros, Ιστορικά Μελετήματα, 97-128, with the Turin version. The first from ms Kutlunus 220 (Athous 3293) — fols. 194-196, description: S.P. Lampros, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in Mount Athos, II (Cambridge, 1900), pp. 298-301. It belonged to the Monemvasiot family of Likinioi for which there is no special study. Cf. Lampros, Ιστορικά Μελετήματα, 120-22; N.A. Bees, "Ο Έλκόμενος Χριστός τῆς Μονεμβασίας μετὰ παρεκβάσεων περὶ τῆς αὐτόθι Παναγίας τῆς Χουσαφιτίσης," BNJB, 10 (1933-4), 199-262, esp. 240-52. P. Schreiner, Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken (CFHB XII 1,2,3) (Vienna, 1975-1979), I, 317-18. It includes copies of official documents, Short Chronicles, tables of emperors and patriarchs, theological texts, narrations of marvels, many of which concern Monemvasia. The second version is from ms Iberon 329 (Athous 4449) fol. 203, description: Lampros, Catalogue, II, 8-84. The origin is not indicated, but P. Schreiner, Studien zu den Βραχέα Χρονικά (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 6) (Munich, 1967) believes it is Peloponnesian. The 3 versions have been published again by N.A. Bees, "Τό 'Περὶ τῆς Κτίσεως τῆς Μονεμβασίας' Χρονικόν, αἱ Πηγαί καὶ ἡ ἱστορική σημαντικότητα αὐτοῦ," Βυζαντίς, 1 (1909), 59-105, and subsequently several times in part. P. Lemerle, "La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie: Le contexte historique et légendaire," REB, 21 (1963), 5-49, published only the Iberon version. Dujcev, Cronaca, published only the first part of the Chronicle. The view that Iberon is the oldest version was expressed by Lemerle, Chronique, 8, 22-23 and generally accepted, e.g. G.L. Huxley, "The second Dark Age of the Peloponnese," Λακωνικά Σπουδαί, 3 (1977), 87. Schreiner, Studien, 132 n.4, remarks that the form of the Chronicle of Monemvasia is not that of a Short Chronicle. The second part, however, is a Short Chronicle of the metropolitan See of Lacedaemonia. A separate manuscript version of this part was found by Lampros, NE, 9 (1912), 245-51.

establish a connection between their invasions and the foundation of Monemvasia.¹

An attempt will be made to clarify the conditions that prevailed in Laconia and eventually led to the abandonment of Lacedaemonia and the foundation of Monemvasia, by examining the parts of the Chronicle that bear on Monemvasia and comparing them to the other sources. In the following pages the text of the Chronicle as given by the three manuscripts is presented side by side to illustrate the similarities and differences of the respective versions. It is separated in parts and those that are identical are put together. When differences of minor importance occur only one version is used and the others are mentioned in parenthesis.²

¹ e.g. Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 34-35, 57, 61; D.A. Zakythinos, *Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι. Συμβολαί εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ* (Athens, 1945), pp. 42-43, who suggests a later date; S.P. Pagoulatos, *Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ μέχρι τοῦ Νικηφόρου Α' (805 μ.Χ.)* (Athens, 1948), 35-36; P. Schreiner, "Note sur la fondation de Monémvasie en 582-3," *TM*, 4 (1970), 475; Huxley, *Dark Age*, 92. On the Slavs in the Byzantine Empire: M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, "Les Slaves dans l'empire byzantin," *17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers* (New Rochelle-New York, 1986), 345-67.

² For the Iberon version the Lemerle edition, *Chronique*, pp. 9-11, was used. For the other two the Bees edition, *Χρονικόν*, pp. 61-68, except for p. 69, ll. 1-7, where the text is reproduced without the editor's corrections. Sigla: I: Iberon, T: Turin, K: Kutilumus, +: and, or plus.

	Περὶ τῆς κτίσε- ως τῆς Μονεμβα- σίας.	Τὸ κερῶ ὅπου ἤκ- τισεν ἡ μονεμβα- σία καὶ πῶς.
5		Εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τόν ἀβάρον ἄχρι τὴν σήμερον 4φ ε
10	Ἐν ἔτει τῷ ,στξδ ^ψ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς, ὅπερ ἦν ἔτος λβ' τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγά- λου, εἰσῆλθον ἐν Κωνσταν- τινουπόλει πρέσβεις ἔθνους 15 παραδόξου τῶν Ἀβάρων λε- γομένων, καὶ συνέτρεχε πᾶ- σα ἡ πόλις εἰς τὴν θέαν αὐτῶν ὥς μηδέποτε ἑωρακό- τες ἔθνος τοιοῦτον.	Γένος οἱ Ἀβαρες ἔθνος Οὐνικόν καὶ Βουλγαρικόν.
20	Εἶχον γάρ τὰς κόμας μακράς πάνυ δεδεμένας πρανδίοις καὶ πε- πλεγμένας, ἡ δέ λοιπὴ φορεσία αὐτῶν ὁμοία τῶν λοιπῶν Οὐνῶν. Οὗτοι	
	καθὼς ὁ Εὐάγριος λέγει ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας,	ὑπῆρχον
25	ἔθνος	
	ὄντες	
30	τῶν ἀμαξοβίων τῶν ὑπὲρ (ὑπὸ T+K) τὸν Καύκασον, τὰ ἐπέκεινα πεδία νεμόμενοι, ἐπεὶ κακῶς (ἐπικράτως T+K) πεπόνθασιν παρὰ τῶν γειτνιώντων αὐτοῖς Τούρκων, τοὺτους φεύγοντες, τῆς ἰδί- ας ἀπαναστάντες χώρας καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ Εὐξείνου διαβάν- τες, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον. Ἐκεῖθεν δέ ἀπάραντες διῆλ- θον τόπους πολλῶν ἔθνῶν	
	τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσιν αὐ- τοῖς βαρβάροις	Τούτοις παρατυγχάνουσιν
35	ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, μέχρις οὗ τὰς ὁχθὰς τοῦ Ἰστρου κατειλή- φασιν καὶ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, αἰτοῦντες δε- χθῆναι αὐτούς. Τοῦ δέ βασιλέως φιλανθρώπως αὐτούς προσδεξαμέ- νου (δεξαμένου T+K) ἔλαχον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔχειν τὴν κατοίκησιν ἐν χώρα Μυσίας ἐν πόλει Δωροστόλῳ τῇ νῦν καλουμένῃ Δρίστρᾳ. Καὶ 40 ἕξ ἀπόρων εὐποροὶ γενόμενοι καὶ εἰς πλῆθος πολὺ ἐκταθέν- τες, καὶ ἀμνήμονες καὶ ἀχάριστοι εὐρεθέντες, ἦκον Ρωμαί- ους καταστρεψόμενοι. Θρᾷκας καὶ Μακεδόνας αἰχμαλωτίζοντες καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλίδαν κατατρέχοντες	

καί τὰ περί αὐτήν ἀφειδῶς
 ληιζόμενοι. Παρέλαβον δέ
 καί τό Σίρμιον, πόλιν τῆς
 Εὐρώπης ἐπίσημον, ἣτις ἐν
 5 Βουλγαρίᾳ οὔσα νῦν καλεῖ-
 ται Στρίωμος, πρῶην μὲν
 ὑπό Γεπιδῶν κρατουμένην,
 Ἰουστίνῳ δέ τῷ βασιλεῖ
 παραδοθεῖσαν παρ' αὐτῶν.
 10 Διά ταῦτα οὖν συνθῆκαι ἐ-
 πονείδιστοι ὑπό Ρωμαίων
 γεγόνασι πρὸς αὐτούς, ὑπο-
 σχομένων παρέχειν αὐτοῖς
 φόρον ἐτήσιον χρυσοῦ χι-
 15 λιάδας π'. Καί ἐπὶ τού-
 τοις ἐπηγγείλαντο οἱ Ἀβα-
 ρεῖς ἡσυχάζειν.

Τοῦ (+δέ, T+K) Μαυρικίου τῶν σκήπτρων ἐπειλημμένου κατὰ τό

20 ἑξακισχιλιοστόν 4' ἔτος,
 πρεσβεύουσιν οἱ Ἀβαρεῖς
 πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξιούντες
 ταῖς π'χιλιάσι τοῦ χρυσοῦ
 ἃς ἐλάμβανον παρὰ Ρωμαίων
 προστεθεῖναι ἄλλας εἴκο-
 25 σι. Ὁ δέ βασιλεύς τῆς εἰρή-
 νης ἐφιέμενος κατεδέξατο
 τοῦτο. Ἀλλ' οὐδέ ἦρκεσε ὁ
 τῆς συνθήκης λόγος περαιτέ-
 ρω δύο ἐνιαυτῶν.

,στ (ἑξακισχιλιοστόν K) ἑβδο-
 μηκοστόν ε' ἔτος, ὁ δέ

30 Χαγάνος

γάρ ὁ αὐτῶν ἡγεμὼν, ἄλλοτε
 ἄλλην πρόφασιν ποιούμενος
 εἰς τό εὐρεῖν ἀφορμήν πο-
 λέμου καί

λύει τὰς σπονδὰς

/K 35 αἰτῶν ὑπέρογχα,

ὥς ἐν τινι παρηκούσθη, λύ-
 ει τὰς συνθήκας καί ἑξαπι-
 νιαίως Σιγγιδόνα παραλαμ-
 βάνει, πόλιν τῆς Θρᾷκης,
 40 ἀφύλακτον ταύτην εὐρῶν,
 πρὸς δέ καί Αὐγούστας
 καί τό Βιμινάκιον, νῆσος
 δέ ἐστὶ τοῦτο μεγάλη τοῦ
 Ἰστρου· παρέλαβε δέ καί
 45 τήν Ἀγχίαλον τήν νῦν Με-
 σίνην τῆς Μακεδονίας, καί
 πολλάς ἑτέρας πόλεις ἐχει-
 ρόσατο τὰς ὑπὸ τό Ἰλλυρι-
 κὸν τελούσας. Ἦλθε δέ καί
 50 μέχρι τῶν τοῦ Βυζαντίου

καί

5	προαστείων τὰ πάντα ληιζόμενος, ἠπείλει δέ καί τὰ Μακρά Τείχη καταστρέψαι, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες αὐτῶν τόν πορθμόν τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες καί τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας χωρία ληισάμενοι αὖθις ἀνέστρεψαν. Ὁ δέ βασιλεύς πρέσβεις πρὸς τόν χαγάνον	
10	ἔξαπέστειλεν Ἐλπίδιον πατρίκιον σὺν Κομεντιόλφ, προσθήκην τῶν πάκτων ποιούμενος, καί ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἰρήνην ἄγειν ὁ βάρβαρος	
15	καθομολόγησε. Μικρόν δέ ἡσυχάσας πάλιν τὰς σπονδάς διαλύει καί καταπολεμεῖ δεινῶς τήν τε σκυθίαν χώραν καί τήν Μυσίαν, καταστρέψας δέ φρούρια πάμπολλα.	
20	Ἐν ἑτέρῳ δέ εἰσβολῇ	
ἔχειρώσατο (+ πᾶσαν τήν I) Θεσσαλίαν (Θετταλίαν T+K) (+ καί τήν I) Ἑλλάδα		
25	πᾶσαν τήν τε παλαιάν Ἡπειρόν καί	
	Ἀττικὴν καί Εὐβοίαν	
30	οἳ δὴ καί ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐφορμήσαντες πολέμῳ ταύτην εἶλον, καί ἐκβαλόντες τὰ εὐγενῆ καί ἑλληνικὰ ἔθνη	καί Πελοπόννησον
καί καταφθείραντες (+ τὰ γένη T+K) κατώκησαν αὐτοί ἐν αὐτῇ. οἱ δέ		
	τὰς μαιφρόνους αὐτῶν χεῖρας	
35	δυνηθέντες ἐκφυγεῖν (+ ἄλλος ἄλλαχῇ I) διεπάρησαν. Καί ἡ μὲν τῶν Πατρῶν πόλις μετῴκησθη (κατῴκησθη, T+K) ἐν τῇ τῶν καλαυρῶν χώρᾳ τοῦ Ριγίου, οἱ δέ Ἀργεῖοι ἐν τῇ (+ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ I) Ὀρόβῃ, οἱ δέ Κορίνθιοι ἐν τῇ (+ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ I) Αἰγίνῃ μετῴκησαν. Τότε δὴ καί οἱ Λάκωνες τό πατρῷον ἔδαφος	
40	καταλιπόντες, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ (νήσῳ Σικελίας I) ἐξέπλευσαν	
	οἳ καί εἰς ἔτι εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῇ	κατοικοῦντες
ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Δέμεννα,		
45	καί Δεμενῖται ἀντὶ Λακεδαιμονιτῶν κατονομαζόμενοι καί τήν ἰδίαν τῶν Λακῶνων διάλεκτον διασώζοντες.	καί ἀντὶ Λακεδαιμονιτῶν Δεμαινῖται κατονομάζονται

οἱ δέ (λοιποὶ T+K) (ἐκ τῶν ἐπισήμων T) δύσβατον τόπον παρά τὸν τῆς θαλάσσης αἰγιαλὸν εὐρόντες καὶ πόλιν ὄχυράν οἰκοδομήσαντες καὶ Μονεμβασίαν ταύτην ὀνομάσαντες, διὰ τὸ μία ἔχειν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσπορευομένων τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κατῴκησαν μετὰ (+ καὶ I) τοῦ ἰδίου (+αὐτῶν T+K) ἐπισκόπου. Οἱ δέ (+ἕτεροι τῶν ἐπισήμων μετὰ T) τῶν θρεμμάτων νομεῖς καὶ ἀγρικτικοὶ κατῴκηθησαν ἐν τοῖς παρακειμένοις ἐκεῖσε τραχανοῖς τόποις, οἷ καὶ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τζακονίαι ἐπωνομάσθησαν.

10	Οὕτως	διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Λάκωνας Τζάκωνας μετονομασθῆναι. Τοίνυν
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οἱ Ἄβαροι τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατασχόντες (κατασχόντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον T+K)

καὶ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ

διήρκεσαν ἐπὶ χρόνοις διακοσίοις ὀκτωκαίδεκα (,σιη' T+K),
 15 μήτε (+ τῷ I) τῶν Ρωμαίων βασιλεῦ μήτε ἑτέρῳ ὑποκείμενοι, ἦγουν ἀπὸ τοῦ ,σθηστ' (στ^{ου} H^{ου} στ^{ου} K) ἔτους τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς, ὅπερ ἦν ἕκτον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Μαυρικίου, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ,στ^{ου} τριγ' (,στ τριακοστοῦ τρεῖς καὶ δεκάτου T, ,στ^{ου} τριακοστοῦ τρισκαίδεκάτου K) ἔτους
 20 (+ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς I), ὅπερ ἦν τέταρτον ἔτος (ἔτος δ.Τ, ἔτος δ^{ου} K) τῆς βασιλείας Νικηφόρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος υἱὸν Σταυράκιον. Μόνου δέ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ μέρους τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀπὸ Κορίνθου (+καὶ T+K) μέχρι Μαλαίου τοῦ Σθλαβινοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ δύσβατον καθα-
 25 ρεύοντος, στρατηγὸς Πελοποννήσου ἐν (+τῷ T+K) αὐτῷ μέρει ὑπὸ τοῦ Ρωμαίων βασιλέως κατεπέμπετο. Εἷς δέ τῶν (+ὑπὸ I) τοιούτων στρατηγῶν, ὀρμώμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας, πατρι-
 30 αῖς δέ τῶν ἐπονομαζομένων Σκληρῶν, συμβαλὼν τῷ Σθλαβινῷ ἔθνει πολεμικῶς εἰλέε τε καὶ ἠφάνισε εἰς τέλος καὶ τοῖς ἀρχῆθεν οἰκήτορσιν ἀποκαταστῆναι τὰ οἴκεῖα παρέσχεν. Τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ προειρημένος βασιλεὺς Νικηφόρος καὶ χαρᾶς πλησθεὶς διάφροντίδος ἔθετο (+τὸ καὶ I) τὰς ἐκεῖσε πόλεις ἀνακαινίσαι, καὶ ἅς οἱ βάρβαροι δάφισαν (κατηδάφισαν T+K) ἐκκλησίαις ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βαρβάρους χριστιανούς ποιῆσαι.

35	Διὸ καὶ ἀναμαθὼν τὴν μετοικίαν οὐ διατρίβουσιν οἱ Πατρεῖς, κελεύσει αὐτοῦ τούτους τῷ ἔξ ἀρχῆς	τὴν δέ μετοικίαν (μετοικεσίαν K) τῶν Πατρίων (Πατρῶν K) ἀναμαθὼν τῷ
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40 ἐδάφει (+ τῶν Πατρίων αὐτοὺς T, τῶν Πατρῶν αὐτοὺς K) ἀπεκατέστησε μετὰ (+καὶ I) τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτῶν ποιμένος, ὃς ἦν (+τὸ τηνικαῦτα I) Ἀθανάσιος τοῦνομα

45	καὶ μητροπόλεως δίκαια ταῖς Πάτραις παρέσχετο ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς πρό τούτου χρηματισούσης. Ἀνφικοδόμησέ τε ἐκ βάρων καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας, πατριαρχοῦντος ἔτι Ταρασίου τοῦ ἐν	Ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ (+δέ K) τυγχάνουσα πρότερον ἐτιμήθη εἰς μητρόπολιν παρά τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικηφόρου. Πατριαρχοῦντος δέ Ταρασίου ἐδόθη πρὸς αὐτὴν κατ' ἐπίδοσιν καὶ ἡ ἀγιωτάτη ἐπισκοπὴ Λακεδαιμονίας καὶ ἡ Μεθώνη καὶ ἡ Κορώνη.
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ἁγίοις πατρός ἡμῶν. Τήν δέ
 Λακεδαίμωνα πόλιν ἐκ βά-
 θρων καί αὐτήν ἀνεγείρας
 καί ἐνοικίσας ἐν αὐτῇ λαόν
 5 σύμμικτον, Καφήρους τε καί
 Θρακησίους καί Ἀρμενίους
 καί λοιπούς ἀπό διαφόρων
 τόπων τε καί πόλεων ἐπι-
 10 συναχθέντας, ἐπισκοπήν καί
 αὖθις ταύτην κατέστησε καί
 ὑποκεῖσθαι τῇ τῶν Πατρῶν
 μητροπόλει ἐθέσπισεν, προσ-
 αφιερώσας καί ἐτέρας δύο
 15 ἐπισκοπάς, τήν τε Μεθώνην
 καί τήν Κορώνην. Διό καί
 οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ
 βοηθείᾳ καί χάριτι κατηχη-
 θέντες ἐβαπτίσθησαν καί τῇ
 20 τῶν χριστιανῶν προσετέθη-
 σαν πίστει, εἰς δόξαν καί
 εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ πατρός καί
 τοῦ υἱοῦ καί τοῦ ἁγίου
 πνεύματος καί νῦν καί ἀεί
 25 καί εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

The comparison of the three texts shows clearly
 the numerous and important differences between the
 Iberon version and the other two. The differences
 between the Turin and the Kutlumus version are of
 minor importance and are limited to the first 4
 lines. Consequently they will be considered as one
 version. One has to note more specifically the follow-
 ing:

p. 69, ll. 1-3: The difference of the titles be-
 tween the Turin and the Kutlumus and the lack of
 title in the Iberon can be explained by the fact
 that the original from which all the texts were co-
 pied had no title. The owners of the Monemvasiot

manuscripts, the Turin and the Kutlumus, were both collectors of documents on Monemvasia and added a title to the text to indicate that the foundation of their native town was cited in it, without any other alteration or intervention, otherwise there would have been differences between the two texts. It is not possible that one copied the other, for in that case their titles would have been identical.¹

p.69, ll. 4-7. The first phrase of the Kutlumus, which also seems to be an addition, possibly by an older possessor of the text, is unclear because of the incomplete date. (Pl. 4) The interpretation, which has been proposed, i.e. that the copyist adopted the method of chronological calculation used in other parts of the manuscript, namely that of defining the interval between two events, cannot be accepted, because all the other examples in the same manuscript do not make use of the dative case, which has been used here (pl.5).² The sentence seems not to indicate the

¹ It must be noted that the correct word used in the title of the Kutlumus manuscript is ἡκτισεν, cf. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, II, 77, and not οἰκησεν, as cited usually by the editors. Bees, *Χρονικόν*, 61, omits it. It has been suggested that the Chronicle of Monemvasia might have been a fragment from an official document for the See of Patras Otto Kresten, "Zur Echtheit des Sigillion des Kaisers Nikephoros I für Patras," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 19 (1977), 69-70, n. 173.

² Schreiner, Note, 474 n. 10; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 319-20.

interval between two events but a sequence of events starting from the time of the Avars and up to the year the phrase has been written. It is possible that it is an addition by one of the intermediate owners of the text and that the scribe of the Kutlumus manuscript was not able to decipher the date, as in other cases in the same manuscript. The remaining numerals should be read either ,στ^ω.. ε(τει), "on the 6th... y(ear)", or ,στ^ω.. ε^(ω) (ετει), "on the 6th..5^(th) (year)", i.e. some time before 1492 (7000).¹

more
specific

p.69, ll. 8-43, p.70, p.71, ll. 1-26. In this part for which common sources have been used important differences also appear. Iberon gives the impression of a more elaborate treatment which has led to a more "scholarly" style. Furthermore in p. 9, l. 18, when the facts of the reign of Maurice start, the Iberon uses the Byzantine system of dating

¹ Lemerle, *Chronique*, 23 n. 30, interpreted it ,^ω ε'; Bees, *Χρονικόν*, 61 : ,^ω'; Lampros, *Ἱστορικὰ Μελετήματα*, 128, read the date ,στωε', which is 6805 or 1296-7, believing it to be the date of the composition of the Chronicle in its complete form; Dujcev, *Cronaca*, 2, changed arbitrarily to: ε'. The similarity between the incomplete date and the various dates in the second part of the Chronicle, referring to the See of Lacedaemonia in the 14th century, might suggest its insertion by the compiler of the two parts of the Chronicle. All the dates, however, of this part contain the indictio, which is missing here, and furthermore the date is lacking in the Turin manuscript. Consequently this hypothesis should be rejected. (Pl. 6)

kr

So why mention it.

whereas in the other version the older Alexandrian system is used. This must be taken into consideration and allows for two possibilities only; either both versions are contemporary, copied from the same original, which contained the chronology in the Alexandrian system, and the copyist of the Iberon in his elaboration of the original changed the date to the system, which was in use at the time, or the Iberon is an arrangement of the older Turin-Kutlumus version. The possibility, which is generally adopted, that the Iberon is the older version, seems unacceptable. If it were so then the system of dating which was in use at the time must have been changed by the copyist of the Turin-Kutlumus version to the Alexandrian, which was out of use, and this would be absurd.¹

p. 71, ll. 27-47, p. 72, 1-41. The Iberon and the Turin-Kutlumus versions do not differ essentially in this part, the sources of which are not known. The laconic description of the abandonment of the important Peloponnesian towns is followed by an identical and detailed account on the fate of Lacedaemonia.

¹ On the use of the Alexandrian system in another source on the foundation of Monemvasia, Schreiner, Note, 474-75. The fact that the Turin-Kutlumus version simply mentions the donation κατ' ἐπίδοσιν of the three bishoprics to Patras is another indication that the Iberon has gone through a further elaboration. Cf. Lemerle, Chronique, 23; P. Lemerle, "À propos de la Chronique de Monemvasie et de quelques textes apparentés," ZRVI, 8 II (1964), 235-36.

It has to be accepted that a common source has been used giving all the details on the movements of the inhabitants of Lacedaemonia and its abandonment as well as on the foundation of the new town.¹ This specific source will be called Chronicle of Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia to be distinguished from the so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia, which has incorporated it.

p. 72, ll.42-49, p. 73, 1-25. The fact that the versions differ in this part points again to a further elaboration of the Iberon text, with the addition from a separate source of the information on the re-foundation and recolonisation of Lacedaemonia in the 10th century.²

Taking into account the preceding remarks one could propose the following division of the contents of the Chronicle of Monemvasia.

- I : p.69 and p.70, ll.1-17. General information on the Avars before the time of Maurice.
- II : p.70, ll. 18-50, p.71, ll.1-35. Attacks of the Avars during the 6th year of the reign of

¹ Lemerle, Chronique, 21.

² Cf. Lemerle, Chronique, 20.

Maurice against Greece and the Peloponnese.

- III :p. 71, ll. 35-37. Abandonment of Patras by its inhabitants and settlement in Calabria, following another attack by the Slavs.
- IV :p. 71, ll. 37-39. Abandonment of Corinth and Argos.
- V :p. 71, ll. 39-47, p. 72, ll. 1-10. Abandonment of Lacedaemonia towards three directions, Sicily, the Parnon and the newly founded Monemvasia, i.e. Chronicle of Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia.
- VI :p. 72, ll. 10-26. Establishment of the Avars in the Peloponnese for 218 years, except for the eastern part where a strategos was sent.
- VII :p. 72, ll. 26-34. Submission of the Slavs.
- VIII :p. 72, ll. 35-41. Return of the descendants of the inhabitants of Patras.
- IX :p. 72, ll. 42-49, p. 73, l. 1. Elevation of Patras to the rank of a metropolis within the framework of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.¹
- X :p. 73, ll. 2-16. Rebuilding of Lacedaemonia.
- XI :p. 73, ll. 16-25. Christianization of the barbarians.

¹ The history of the See of Patras is not clear: Kresten, *Echtheit*, 24-25 and n. 44. The Chronicle as well as the Scholion of Arethas, which will be subsequently examined, imply that it held the rank of an archbishopric, before being raised to a metropolis by Nicephoros I. Its subordination to the Patriarchate of Constantinople must have taken place at this time and not earlier, as is usually accepted for the Sees of Illyricum, see chapter 6 I.

Section V in particular, i.e. the Chronicle of Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia, could be further subdivided in the following parts.

- i :p. 71, ll. 39-40. The Laconians abandoned their native soil.
- ii :p. 71, ll. 40-47. Part of them went to Sicily. They settled in a place called Demenna, calling themselves Demenitai instead of Lacedaemonitai and preserving their Laconian dialect.¹
- iii :p. 72, ll. 1-4. The rest of the inhabitants found an inaccessible rock near the sea and built a fortified town, which they called Monemvasia, and they settled there.
- iv :p. 72, ll. 4-5. Their bishop accompanied them.
- v :p. 72, ll. 5-10. The peasants and the cattle-breeders went to live in the wild areas which

¹ There seems to be no reason to reject the connection of Demenna with Lacedaemonia as does Lemerle, *Chronique*, 14. B. Lavagnini, "Demenna e Demennitai," *Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos* (Athens, 1986), II, 123-28, esp. 125-26, believes that the link between the two should not be rejected, since it would be difficult to explain how the name of an obscure Italian town, ignored by the historians, could have occurred in a local chronicle if it had not been based on some real fact. Demenna was conquered by the Arabs before 965, who used the name of "Achares" for it: Lavagnini, 125, 127-28. Consequently the relevant part of the Chronicle must have been composed before that date. Cf. P. Lemerle, Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démetrius .II. *Commentaire* (Paris, 1981), 62-65. A similarity of style with the De Administrando Imperio of Constantine Porphyrogenitus is noticeable: J. Koder, "Anmerkungen zu den *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*," *Tribute to Stratos*, II, 523-38.

are situated around Sparta and which have been lately called tzaconiai because the Laconians were renamed Tzaconians.¹

III . A Marginal scholion by Arethas

It has been generally accepted that "virtually every notice contained in the Chronicle is confirmed by another source", which is a scholion in the margin of a manuscript belonging to Arethas, metropolitan of Caesaria in the early 10th century.² After the examination of the Chronicle of Monemvasia it would be useful to compare the two sources.³

¹ The identification of the Tzacones with the Lacones occurs only in the Turin-Kutlumus version. It should not necessarily be rejected, as Lemerle, *Chronique*, 23, does, followed by most historians. The etymological interpretation, however, is doubtful. On the subject see below, pp. 137-41.

² P. Charanis, "The Chronicle of Monemvasia and the question of the Slavonic settlements in Greece," *DOP*, 5 (1950), 162-63.

³ S.B. Kougeas, "Ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Χρονικοῦ τῆς Μονεμβασίας," *NE*, 9 (1912), 473-80; L.G. Westerkink, "Marginalia by Arethas in Moscow Greek Ms 231," *B*, 42 (1972), 196-244. J. Karayannopoulos, "Zur Frage der Slavensiedlungen auf dem Peloponnes," *RESEE*, 9 (1971), 455-56, believes the Scholion not to be by the hand of Arethas and dates it in the 12th c. S.I. Kyriakidis, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται. VI Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ* (Thessaloniki, 1948), p.91 and J. Koder, "Arethas von Kaisareia und die sogenannte Chronik von Monembasia," *JÖB*, 25 (1976), 75-80, believe that Arethas could have been the author of the Chronicle of Monemvasia. It is significant that in his Scholion Arethas does not mix Avars with Slavs, as does the author of the Chronicle. The Scholion is reproduced from Kougeas, 474-75.

- 1 Νικηφόρος / τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας
αὐτοῦ ἡ Πατρῶν τῆς Πελοποννήσου τῆς πατρί-
δος ἡμῶν μετοικία ἀπὸ τῆς Καλαυρῶν πόλεως
5 τοῦ Ρηγίου ἀνεκομίσθη εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον πόλι-
σμα τῶν Πατρῶν. Ἐφυγαδεύθη γάρ ἡγουν μετ-
φκίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σηλαυηνῶν ἔθνους πολέμῳ ἐφ-
ορμησάντων Θεσσαλίᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ δευτέρᾳ
καὶ προσέτι Αἰνιάσι τε καὶ Λοκροῖς ἀμφοτέ-
ροις καὶ Ἐπικνημιδίῳις τε καὶ Ὀζόλαις καὶ
10 δὴ καὶ τῇ παλαιᾷ Ἡπείρῳ καὶ Ἀττικῇ καὶ
Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἐκβαλόντων μὲν
τά ἐγγενῇ ἐλληνικὰ ἔθνη καὶ καταφθειράν-
των, κατοικισθέντων δέ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ βασιλείας
Μαυρικίου ἔτους στ' μέχρι τετάρτου ἔτους Νι-
15 κηφόρου, ἐφ' οὗ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ μέρους Πελο-
ποννήσου ἀπὸ Κορίνθου καὶ μέχρι Μαλέας τοῦ
Σηλαυηνοῦ καθαρεύοντος, εἰς ὃ καὶ στρατηγός
κατεπέμπετο τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. Ἐκ τούτων τῶν
20 στρατηγῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μικρᾶς ὀρμώμενος Ἀρμε-
νίας, φατρίας δέ τῶν ἐπονομαζομένων Σκλη-
ρῶν, συμβαλὼν τῷ Σηλαυηνῶν ἔθνει, πολεμι-
κῶς εἰλὲν τε καὶ ἠφάνισεν εἰς τέλος καὶ
τοῖς ἀρχῇθεν οἰκήτορσιν ἀποκαταστῆναι τὰ
25 οἰκεῖα παρέσχεν. Βασιλεύς γάρ ὁ εἰρημένος
ἀναμαθὼν τὴν μετοικίαν οὗ διατρίβειν κελεύ-
σει αὐτοῦ τὸν τε λαὸν τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδάφει
ἀποκατέστησεν καὶ μητροπόλεως δίκαια ταῖς
Πάτραις παρέσχετο, ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς πρό αὐ-
30 τοῦ χρηματιζούσης.

A division of the contents of the Scholion similar to that used for the Chronicle produces the following sections:

- a: ll. 1-5. Return of the descendants of the inhabitants of Patras, in the 4th year of Nicephoros I, from Calabria.
- b: ll. 5-6. Abandonment of Patras.
- c: ll. 6-13. Description of the attacks of the Slavs against Greece and the Peloponnese.
- d: ll. 13-19. Establishment of the Slavs in Greece and the Peloponnese, starting from the 6th year of Maurice and up to the 4th of Nicephoros,

except for the eastern part where a strategos was sent.

e:11. 19-23. Submission of the Slavs.

f:11. 23-30. Promotion of Patras to the rank of a metropolis by Nicephoros I.

The comparison of the contents of the Scholion of Arethas with those of the Chronicle of Monemvasia shows that the entire text of Arethas coincides to some extent only with the Chronicle, i.e. a=VIII, b=III, c=II, d=VI, e=VII, f=IX, and that sections I, IV, V, X and XI are missing from Arethas.¹

So far sections IV and V have been considered to form an integral part of the Chronicle. The fact that they were missing from Arethas was either not noticed or attributed to his lack of interest on the eastern Peloponnese. It would be, however more reasonable to accept that Arethas was in possession of a Chronicle of the metropolis of Patras, which was used by him for his Scholion and which did not contain the separate information on Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia, the Chronicle of Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia, neither the information on the abandonment of Corinth and Argos. Since Arethas ignored the Slav settlement in

¹ Section X is also missing from the Turin-Kutlumuş section.

the eastern part of the Peloponnese, stating that it had remained free from Slavs, it is possible that the Slavs settled only in the north-western regions of the peninsula, during the reign of Maurice at least, as seem to suggest some sources.¹

IV . A Petition by the Metropolitan of Monemvasia

Spyridon Lampros published in 1915 two petitions addressed to the Patriarch of Constantinople, written for the metropolitan of Monemvasia by Isidore, later metropolitan of Kiev, in the 15th century. The longest contains the following section on the foundation of Monemvasia.²

¹ These remarks make improbable the authorship of Arethas for the Chronicle. The archeological finds suggest that the abandonment of the cities of the eastern Peloponnese must have not happened in the 6th c. as early as Maurice's reign, V. Popović, "Les témoins archéologiques des invasions Avaro-Slaves dans l' Illyricum Byzantin," MEFRA (Antiquité), 87 (1975), 445-504, esp. 452, 455-57, 503-04.

² S.P. Lampros, "Δύο ἀναφοραί τοῦ μητροπολίτου Μονεμβασίας πρὸς τὸν Πατριάρχην," NE, 12 (1915), 255-318, from ms Palatinus Graecus 226, fols. 69^r-133^v. He announced, p. 258, but never fulfilled, his intention to comment on the text. On the manuscript and the texts : G. Mercati, Scritti d' Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno (Studi e Testi, 46) (Rome, 1926), pp. 9-17. On Isidore and the petitions see below chapters 5 and 6. The text, contained in fol. 121, is reproduced from NE, 12 (1915), 286-87.

- 1 Δυοῖν τοίνυν θεωρουμένων ἀλώσεων τῆς Κορίν-
 θου μετά τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν τῆς Πελο-
 ποννήσου, μιᾶς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰουστι-
 νιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, ὃς δι' αὐτό καὶ τὸν ἐ-
 5 κεῖσε ἰσθμόν ὕστερον ἐτείχισε· κατ' αὐτόν
 γὰρ τριῶν σκυθικῶν γενῶν τὸν Ἰστρον διαπε-
 ρασάντων, Κοττιγάρους, Οὔττιγάρους καὶ Οὐ-
 νιγάρους τούτους ὠνόμαζον, τὸ μὲν ἔν τούτων
 γένος Μυσίαν τὴν ἄνω καὶ Παννονίαν καὶ Δαλ-
 10 ματίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρις ἐς Ἴόνιον κόλπον ἐκ
 μιᾶς ἐφόδου κατέδραμεν, Οὔττιγαροὶ δέ Θρά-
 κην πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ Χερρόνησον
 καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς Ἑβρου πάντα μέχρι τῶν τῆς Κων-
 15 σταντίνου προαστείων, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἀνεχαίτισε
 Βελισάριος, καταστρατηγησάμενος καὶ συντρί-
 ψας αὐτούς, Οὐνίγαροὶ δέ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θετ-
 ταλίαν καὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς Θερμοπυ-
 λῶν ληισάμενοι πάντα καὶ μέχρι Κορίνθου
 20 φθάσαντες, εἶλον παραχρῆμα τὴν πόλιν καὶ
 αὐτοβοεῖ. Σπαρτιατῶν δέ τὸ μὲν συρφετῶδες
 καὶ ἀγελαῖον τὴν ἐκείνοις κοινὴν ἀκούσαντες
 ἄλωσιν, τοῖς ἐμπεριειλημμένοις τῇ Λακεδαί-
 μονι καὶ ἐπανεστηκόσιν αὐτάρκως προσφυγόν-
 25 τες ὄρεσι, τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον τὸ Παρ-
 θένιον ὄρος, ταῖς ἐκείνου χαράδραις καὶ τοῖς
 σπηλαίοις καὶ τοῖς βαράθροις ἐγκαταδεδυκό-
 30 τες, αὐτούς ὑπεξεύρυσαν ἐκείνου δὴ τοῦ βαρ-
 βαρικοῦ ρεύματος καί, σώζοντες ἔτι τὸ παλαι-
 όν ἐκεῖνο τῶν Λακῶνων ὄνομα, Τζάκωνας ἀντὶ
 35 Λακῶνων ἑαυτοὺς ὑποβαρβαρίζοντες λέγουσιν.
 Οἱ δ' αὖ ἐτύγχανον ἐμπορικὸν ἄγοντες ἐπιτή-
 δευμα, φθάσαντες παρὰ τὸ Γύθειον ἐπίνειον
 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐκεῖνο· γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέ-
 40 κνοις, πληρώσαντες δέ τὰς σφῶν ναῦς, παρὰ
 Σικελίαν ἔθεον· προσοκείλαντες δέ εἰς Μεσσή-
 νην, ᾤκησαν ἐκεῖσε, καὶ Δεμενίτας αὐτούς ὁ
 μακρὸς εἶπε χρόνος, βαρβαρίσαντας καὶ αὐ-
 45 τοὺς τοῦνομα· οἱ δέ εὐγενέστεροι τούτων
 καὶ τῆς λαμπρᾶς τύχης καὶ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων,
 40 μαθόντες τὰ τῶν Κορινθίων ἐκεῖνα δὴ τὰ παγ-
 χάλεπα καὶ αὐτοὶ δείσαντες μὴ τὰ ὅμοια κἀπὶ
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς γένηται, πρὸς Μονεμβασίαν ὡς
 εἶχον ἐχώρουν εὐθύς ὄλῳ ποδί, νησίον ἐπι-
 45 κείμενον τῇ Λακωνικῇ, νησίον ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἐ-
 50 πίμηκες καὶ ἀπότομον εἰδότες πάντη καὶ τῆς
 θαλάττης ἱκανῶς ὑπερκείμενον καὶ φιλονικοῦν
 ὡς πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα προσαμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ παρα-
 ψάφειν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον δοκεῖν καὶ πανταχόθεν
 περιειλημμένον // κρημνοῖς ὀρθίοις καὶ ἀβά-
 50 τοις καὶ πᾶσι σχεδὸν τοῖς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἄβα-
 τόν τε καὶ ἀνεπιχείρητον, τῶν προκατείληφό-
 των καὶ μόνων ἄνευ τυγχάνον, τὸ μέχρι τότε
 μηδεμίαν ἐσχηκός οἴκησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδέ τοῦ τῆς
 Μονεμβασίας μεταλαχόν ὀνόματος.

There are two distinct parts in the text. The first, ll. 1-20, contains a completely new element, the attacks by three barbarian tribes against the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Justinian and the capture of Corinth by one of them. The second, l. 20 to the end, describes the abandonment of Lacedaemonia by its inhabitants, as an indirect consequence of the capture of Corinth, and the foundation of Monemvasia. Since this part seems very similar to section V of the Chronicle of Monemvasia, the Chronicle of Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia, it may be rewarding to start by examining this part and by subdividing it into parts.

1:ll. 20-30. The ^{common} people of Sparta sought refuge in the high mountains around Lacedaemonia. They preserved their old name of Laconians calling themselves barbarously Tzaconians.

2:ll. 31-38. The merchants went with their families to Gytheion, which was the port of Sparta. They filled their own ships, sailed to Sicily and settled there, in a place near Messene. They were called, barbarously also, Dementitai.

3:ll. 39-54. The nobles fearing that they would suffer the same as the Corinthians, left immediately for Monemvasia, a steep and inaccessible

island, which had never been inhabited till that time.

A comparison with section V of the Chronicle of Monemvasia, i.e. the Chronicle of Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia, shows a perfect coincidence of information with the exception of two points: the mention of the port of Gytheion, contained in part 2 of the Petition, which is not found in the Chronicle and the mention in part iv of the Chronicle of the bishop among those who went to Monemvasia, which is missing in this part, but is presumed subsequently.¹ The striking similarities, which extend to the etymology of Demenna and of Tzacones, make it obvious that the author of the Chronicle and Isidore used the same source, the Chronicle of Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia. This Chronicle did not have anything in common with the Chronicle of the metropolis of Patras, used by Arethas, which did not contain information on Lacedaemonia. Most probably it was found locally, in the Archives of Monemvasia.²

¹ NE, 12 (1915), 286. Parthenion should be identified with mount Paron: Ernst Curtius, Peloponnesos (Gotha, 1852), II, 308 n. 7.

² Cf. Schreiner, Studien, 132-33.

Coming to the first part of the Petition, it must be noted that there is no positive evidence for an attack of the Onogurs directed specifically against Corinth during Justinian's reign.¹ Agathias Scholasticus records a series of attacks by Bulgarian tribes against Constantinople and some parts of Greece. For one of them he mentions a stratagem used by Belisarius to drive the barbarians away from Constantinople. Since the Petition mentions also that Belisarius used a stratagem during the attack, one must assume that both sources refer to the same series of events.² Indeed both agree that tribes of Hunnic origin,

¹ Cf. D.A. Zakythinos, "Μανουήλ Β' ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ὁ καρδινάλιος 'Ισίδωρος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ," Mélanges Merlier, III (Athens, 1955), 16-19 on another reference to the attack against Corinth during Justinian's reign. The attempts to identify it are not very convincing: K.M. Setton, "The Bulgars in the Balkans and the occupation of Corinth in the seventh century," Speculum, 25 (1950), 502-43; P. Charanis, "On the capture of Corinth by the Onogur Bulgars," Speculum, 27 (1952), 343-50; K.M. Setton, "The emperor Constans II and the capture of Corinth by the Onogur Bulgars," Speculum, 27 (1952), 351-62. On the raids against Thermopylai: W.J. Cherf, The Dema Pass and its early Byzantine Fortifications, Topography, Archaeology, Diss. Loyola University of Chicago (Ann Arbor, 1984), 72-73, 88, 90. The fact that there were frequent barbarian raids in the second half of the 6th century seems certain, Popović, MEFRA, 87, pp. 458-502.

² Agathias, ed. R. Keydell (CFHB, II) (Berlin, 1967), p. 194. The attack and the stratagem are also briefly mentioned by Theophanes, ed. De Boor, I, 360-61.

including Kutrigurs, crossed the Danube in the time of Justinian and were divided into three groups; one plundered north, the second invaded the Hellespont threatening also Constantinople and was thwarted by the stratagem of Belisarius, and the third went south to Greece. According to Agathias all these events took place during the year 559 and the invasion against Greece was a failure, since the barbarians were not able to attack the Isthmus. According to the Petition, however, one tribe among them managed to capture Corinth, although no date can be deduced for this fact.

Concerning the three tribes of Onogurs, Kutrigurs and Utigurs, there is some confusion in the sources. Some definite facts have been established by Moravcsik, which can be summarized as follows. In the middle of the 6th century all three tribes are mentioned as being active. Onogurs, in particular, were active between 558 and 576. Kutrigurs and Utigurs were related and they were found in the same areas as the Onogurs, Great Bulgaria. The Utigurs are sometimes identified with the Onogurs. In 568 they all came under the rule of the Avars.¹

¹ Gyula Moravcsik, "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren," Studia Byzantina (Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 84-118, esp. 93-95, 104-07; G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica (Berlin, 1958), II, 220.

It is therefore possible that sections of the three Hunnic tribes found their way towards the southern parts of Greece, although it is difficult to identify an attack against Corinth such as the one described in the Petition. In the attack of 559, however, the failure mentioned by Agathias refers to the Isthmus and not to Corinth. The exact expression used "μήτε τῷ Ἰσθμῷ προσβαλόντες" implies some kind of activity around the area, even if unsuccessful, and it is hard to imagine any other reason why the Isthmus should have been mentioned by the historian. Agathias presumably drew his information from official reports in which the attack against the fortifications of the Isthmus and their garrison, which did not surrender, was mentioned.¹ On the other hand the town of Corinth, much weakened by epidemics of plague in 540 and later and by a severe earthquake in 551, was an easy prey. The Hunnic tribes could have sacked the town and plundered it and spread panic to the neighbourhood. The fact that reconstructions were carried out in the next decade supports this sequence of events.² Towns were plundered continuously during

¹ Agathias, 194.

² P.Allen, "The Justinianic Plague," B, 49 (1979), 5-20; R.L. Scranton, Medieval Architecture in the central area of Corinth (Corinth, XVI) (Princeton, 1957), p.8.

this period when barbaric attacks were frequent and the fact was not often thought worthy of mention. That could be the reason why for Agathias the Huns in Greece "did not do anything worthy to narrate".¹

In conclusion, although the Chronicle of Monemvasia and the Petition to the Patriarch, having obviously used the same source, are in perfect agreement concerning the diaspora of the Lacedaemonians and the foundation of Monemvasia they totally disagree as to its cause and chronology. The Petition presents the attack against Corinth and the abandonment of Lacedaemonia as two isolated events, having no other implications. According to it the foundation of Monemvasia was an indirect consequence of the sack of Corinth by the Onogurs during Justinian's reign and should therefore be placed between 559 and 565. According to the Chronicle of Monemvasia, however, the events were of a more general significance for the Peloponnese. Patras and Corinth with Argos and Lacedaemonia were attacked by the Slavs and subsequently abandoned after the year 587-8, while, this being an inconsistency of the Chronicle, the eastern part of

¹ "οὐδέν τι ἀξιοφύητον ἔδρασαν", Agathias, 194. Cf. R.L. Hohlfelder, "Trans-Isthmian Walls in the Age of Justinian," GRBS, 18 (1977), 173-79; T. Gregory, "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth," Hesperia, 48 (1979), 264-80.

the Peloponnese was clear of Slavs.¹ Since the two sources disagree, more evidence will be needed to check their information and their respective dating in order to arrive to a safe conclusion.

V. Two Notices from Manuscript Kutlumus 220

The Kutlumus manuscript, where one version of the the Chronicle of Monemvasia is found, contains a Short Chronicle with two notices concerning the foundation of Monemvasia. (Pl. 4)²

1 Ἡ Μονεμβασία οἰκισεν ἀπὲ τὸν κερὸν τοῦ μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ ἔτους ,στοῦ οὐθῆου', ἀριθμουμένου δέ αὐτοῦ ἕως ὅτου ὁπότ' ἔδωσαν οἱ βενετικοὶ τὸ ἀμνηρὰ σουλτάν Σουλαϊμάνι οἰκονομοῦνται χρόνοι ,π ο γ'.

2 Εἰς τὰ ,αχστ' εἶναι ἡ Μονεμβασία ὅπου οἰκοῖ-
σεν χρόνοι ,αλθ'. 1039.³

The dates given in these notices were thought to

¹ Ep. Chrysanthopoulos, "Περὶ τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τῆς Μονεμβασίας," ΕΕΒΣ, 21 (1951), 245, has noticed that the descriptions of the attacks in the Chronicle are quotations of the attacks by the Huns from Procopios. This is in favour of the credibility of the Petition.

² From fol. 189^r. On the manuscript, above p. 67 n. 1. First published by Manuel Gedeon, "Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ποιήσεως," Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, 3 (1882-3), 202. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, no. 41, 4 a/b, vol. I, 317-19, vol. II, 77-78, with older editions. A French translation in Schreiner, Note, 473.

be wrong because the year 6075 corresponds to 566-7, which is before the reign of Maurice. It has been shown, however, that although 6075 does not correspond to the reign of Maurice according to the byzantine system of chronology, according to the older Alexandrian system, which was in use up to the 9th century corresponds precisely with the year 582-3, the first year of the reign of Maurice. This fact indicates that the sources used for the notices were not only reliable but also very old.¹

Since the notices record only the date of the foundation of Monemvasia without any further details, it is not easy to understand which stage of the procedure is meant by the word "foundation". It has been suggested that the information of the notices was drawn from the Archives of Monemvasia, which still existed in the 16th century.² On the other hand the selection of a suitable place for the building of a new town, the construction of defence works, the abandonment of Lacedaemonia and the settlement in the

¹ Schreiner, Note, 474. The year 1606 must have been the year the author of the notices, Ioannis Likinios, was writing: Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, I, 317-19. There is a remote possibility that the date 6075 was taken from the Chronicle of Monemvasia, in the Turin-Kutlunus version of which the first year of Maurice is given also in the Alexandrian system of chronology.

² Schreiner, Note, 475.

new town are stages which need several years and probably did not permit a regular keeping of records.¹ By the time facts started to be recorded again the authorities of Lacedaemonia must have been established in the new city. This means that the foundation of Monemvasia must have taken place at least a few years before 582-3.²

In conclusion the notices confirm that the abandonment of Lacedaemonia and the foundation of Monemvasia should not be related to the abandonment of Patras or the attacks of the Slavs, which according to the Chronicle of Monemvasia started in the 6th year of the reign of Maurice, in 587-88.

VI . Archeological evidence

It might be helpful to test the evidence of the sources examined so far against archeological or other evidence, wherever available.

¹ In the Chronicle of Monemvasia, above p. 72, l. 2, it is indicated that the Lacedaemonians built a fortified town.

² It is significant that the two notices are believed to be a source for an unrecorded Slav invasion against the Peloponnese, although Slavs are not mentioned in them: Schreiner, Note, 475 and n.17; P. Charanis, "Some remarks relating to the history of the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century," Tribute to Stratos, I, 59-64.

In a recent study it has been shown that the only positive evidence for the presence of the Slavs in the Peloponnese is a number of tombs in Olympia, which date from the late 7th century. The numismatic finds show that during the second half of the 6th century there were frequent raids against the cities of Greece but most of them remained far from the lines of penetration of the Slavs and from their large scale invasion of 586.¹

For Corinth in particular archeological evidence exists , excavations having been carried out over many years. The evidence is against the abandonment of the city at the end of the 6th century and through the first half of the 7th century. "...It is clear that the city suffered a number of shocks of some magnitude under Justinian... and an inscription which has been dated to about 575 may provide contemporary evidence of reconstruction immediately following the calamities." As to the so-called "Avar objects" in Corinth, on which were based many of the arguments for the dating of the Slav invasions, they do not form evidence, since their use was widespread in the Byzantine Empire and their dating is uncertain.²

¹ Popović, MEFRA, 87, pp. 454-503.

² Scranton, Corinth, 8, 26, 28; Popović, MEFRA, 87, pp. 454-55.

It is therefore clear that the petition and not the Chronicle of Monemvasia gives a more accurate picture of the situation in Corinth around the middle of the 6th century. Far from being abandoned Corinth continued its life without interruption until at least the middle of the 7th century and this view is reinforced by references in literary sources.¹

At Argos excavations have been carried out for approximately as long as Corinth but no systematic conclusions have been presented. The fact that the bishop of Argos was present at the 6th Oecumenical Council of 680, along with the bishop of Corinth could be an indication that Argos followed Corinth's fate and was not deserted from the 6th century.²

¹ Bon, Péloponnèse, 51-45; Setton, Speculum, 25, p. 519; G.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio (Florence, 1759ff), XI, 612, 624, 645, 667; XII, 998; P. Jaffé- G. Wattenbach, Regesta Pontificum Romanum, I (Leipzig, 1885), nos. 1243, 1373, 1378, 1379, 1497, 1683.

² Mansi, XI, 612, 624, 645, 667. Bon, Péloponnèse, 103, is not correct in maintaining that only Corinth was represented in the Council of 680 from the Peloponnese, since Argos and Lacedaemonia were also represented, but, significantly, not Patras. P. Yanopoulos, "La pénétration Slave en Argolide," BCH, Supplément VI, 327-71 and P. Aupert, "Céramique Slave à Argos (585 ap. J. C.)," BCH, supplément VI, 373-74, attribute to the Slavs a raid against Argos in the 6th century and take it as a confirmation of the information in the Chronicle of Monemvasia that it was then abandoned.

In Sparta the archeological finds suggest a complete desertion of the town starting approximately at the beginning of the 7th century, which means that Laconia's abandonment was not contemporary with Corinth's. To suppose that the emigration was caused by the Slavs who came to Laconia by other than the natural way, bypassing Corinth and Argos, would postulate a very long advance for which the few years of the reign of Maurice would not suffice. On the other hand the total abandonment of Sparta after, as it is implied in the sources, the building of a new city, is a long procedure, which must have started a few decades before its completion after the middle of the 6th century. This is supported by the fact that in Monemvasia the earliest archeological finds reported belong to the middle of the 6th century.¹

¹ A.M. Woodward, BSA, 26 (1923-5), 156-57; C. Christou, ΑΔ, 17 (1961-2) χρονικά, 84. Bibliography on excavations in Sparta: Λακωνικάί Σπουδαί, 2 (1975), 425-29; Bon, Péloponnèse, 51; Huxley, Dark Age, 94-95, n. 4; Bouras, City and Village, 621-22. There seem to be no finds between the 7th and the 9th c. However, P. Vocotopoulos, "Παρατηρήσεις στην λεγόμενη Βασιλική τοῦ Ἀγίου Νίκωνος," Acts of the 1st International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies (Athens, 1976-7), 273-85, dates, on stylistic grounds, the so-called basilica of Saint Nikon in the 7th c.. In Monemvasia during restoration works conducted by A.Orlandos in Saint Sophia, in the upper town in 1956-7, three trenches had been made and the few finds belonged at the earliest to the middle of the 6th c. I would like to thank professor Christou for this information.

VII . Conclusions

It is clear from the detailed examination of the sources that the author or compiler of the Chronicle of Monemvasia in his effort to stress the importance of the recolonisation of Patras in the 9th century and its promotion to the rank of a metropolis tried to make the impression of the abandonment of the Peloponnese stronger by using material which, most probably, had no connection with the events that occurred during the reign of Maurice. The diaspora of the inhabitants of Patras could be attributed to an attack of the Slavs which happened in the 6th year of the reign of Maurice. But the information on Corinth, Argos and Lacedaemonia, although genuine, cannot be accepted as relating to the same period. For the desertion of Corinth and Argos it seems reasonable to accept the late 7th century.¹

¹ Cf. R.L. Hohlfeider, "Migratory People's incursions into central Greece in the late sixth century," Acts of the 14th International Byzantine Congress, III (Bucarest, 1976), 333-38, although the interpretation of the evidence is not always convincing. Gregory, Fortifications, 51-53; Bouras, City and Village, 617-20, with recent bibliography; Huxley, Dark Age, 93; D.Z. Abrahamse, Hagiographic Sources for Byzantine Cities 500-900 A.D. Diss. Univ. of Michigan (Ann Arbor, 1967), p.75; M.D. Graebner, The Role of the Slavs within the Byzantine Empire, 500-1018 Diss. Rutgers Univ. (Ann Arbor, 1975), p. 32; J. Koder, "Zur Frage der Slavischen Siedlungsgebiete im Mittelalterlichen Griechenland," BZ, 71 (1978), 315-31, esp. 322, Nysatzopoulou, Les Slaves, 351.

The case, however, of Lacedaemonia seems different. Its abandonment and the foundation of Monemvasia must have started earlier, possibly during the reign of Justinian, shortly after 559 and before the raids of the Slavs. The source on the emigration of the Lacedaemonians is, as has been shown, a chronicle which did not contain information on Patras. The fact that this Chronicle of Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia apparently did not refer to a specific barbaric attack as the cause for the emigration of the Lacedaemonians might suggest that this movement of population was not organized as a consequence but in anticipation of a barbaric attack, before 582-3.¹

The building of a new town is fully in line with the policy of Justinian of founding new towns and fortresses all over the Empire.² The abandonment of Lacedaemonia and the foundation of Monemvasia might

¹ Huxley, *Dark Age*, 92, is, as far as I know, the first to have expressed a similar view.

² Cyril Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1974), pp. 37-49; Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique Byzantine* (Paris, 1896), passim; D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe 500-1453* (London, 1971), p. 46. On early byzantine cities: D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1969); E. Kirsten, "Die Byzantinische Stadt," *Acts of the 11th International Byzantine Congress* (Munich, 1958), pp. 1-48; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 30-57; G. Lavvas, "Οἱ πόλεις τῶν Χριστιανικῶν Βασιλικῶν," and N. Duval-V. Popović, "Urbanisme et Topographie Chrétienne dans les provinces septentrionales de l'Illyricum," *Reports of the 10th International Congress of Christian Archeology* (Thessaloniki, 1980), pp. 103-35 and 369-402.

be seen as spontaneous, caused by the panic which spread after the sack of Corinth, but it would make more sense to interpret it as an initiative of the central authority after careful planning.¹ Indeed the location of Sparta was not suitable for resistance against repeated attacks and its port was situated at a long distance, around the treacherous cape Malea, which made communications with the capital difficult. On the contrary the rock of Monemvasia could be very effectively defended with the minimum of troops, while the eastern coast has several good harbours with direct access to Constantinople.² (Pl.1) These advantages made Monemvasia a good alternative to Corinth in case of barbaric attacks through the Isthmus.

Consequently the foundation of Monemvasia could be considered to form part of a series of measures which were taken by Justinian to strengthen

¹ P. Charanis, "The transfer of population as a policy in the Byzantine Empire," no. III in Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire (London, 1972), 141-42.

² On the eastern coast of the Peloponnese: Hetaireia Meleton Perivallontos, Νότιος Πελοπόννησος. Μελέτη 'Αναπτύξεως (Athens, 1974), pp. 45-50; A. Philipson, Der Peloponnes (Berlin, 1891-2), 157-83. Cf. E. Belia, "Στατιστικά στοιχεία της έπαρχίας 'Επιδάουρου Λαμιας," Acts of the 1st International Congress of Laconian Studies, II, (Λακωνικά Σπουδαί, 5 (1980)), 105, for an official report on the ports in 1828. In the same report, p. 103 an echo of the Chronicle of Monemvasia : "...είς ταύτην φαίνεται ότι κατέφυγον οί άνθρωποι είς τας έμπολέμους περιστάσεις, ζητοῦντες είς ταύτην τήν όχυράν έκ φύσεως θέσιν έλευθερίαν καί ασφάλειαν από κατακτητάς τής Πελοποννήσου..."

communications by sea, at a time when road communications became particularly difficult and to secure the sea route from Byzantium to Sicily and Italy.¹ In this context the settlement in Sicily of merchants from Lacedaemonia could be also justified as securing a permanent link between this island and the Peloponnese, and the settlement of the "rustic people and the herdsmen" on the mount Parnon for defending the passages against possible attacks.

Evidence on this inferences is still poor and interpreted in conflicting ways² but the fact that Monemvasia could continue its existence more or less unaffected by the conditions that contributed to the disappearance of a great number of towns in the Peloponnese as well as in the rest of the Byzantine Empire during the Dark Centuries would support an interpretation of the sources and a course of events such as presented above.³

¹ H. Ahrweiler, Byzance et la Mer (Paris, 1966), pp. 7-9; A. Lewis, Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1000 (Princeton, 1951), pp. 26-29. Abrahamse, 299.

² E.g. Bon, Péloponnèse, 49 and n. 3, on finds which have been wrongly attributed to the Slavs; P. Topping, "The Post-Classical Documents. The Minnessota-Messenia expedition," no. VIII in Studies on Latin Greece, p. 64, on the wall of the Altis in Olympia.

³ N. Calogeras, Μονεμβασία ἡ Βενετία τῆς Πελοποννήσου (Athens, 1955), 33, maintains that the rock of Monemvasia was formed following a vulcano eruption in 375 A.D. However, the phenomenon does not seem to be recent: P.B. Faklaris, Ἀρχαία Κυνουρία (Thessaloniki, 1985), pp. 6-7.

2. Monemvasia until 1204

I. . The Polis of the Lacedaemonians

About a century after its abandonment the name of Lacedaemonia occurs again for the first time in the Acts of the 6th Oecumenical Council, held in Constantinople in 680. Among the signatures from Greece is found that of Theodosios "bishop of the polis of the Lacedaemonians". Since the site of Lacedaemonia was deserted at the time, the mention should refer to the city founded by the Lacedaemonians on the rock with the ^{single} only entrance.¹ And although this only entrance was to give later to the city its name, it seems that for some time, officially at least, the

¹ Mansi, XI, 612, 624, 645, 667; R. Riedinger, Die Präsenz- und Subscriptionslisten des VI. oekumenischen Konzils (680/81) und der Papyrus Vind. G. 3 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen. N.S. no. 85) (Munich, 1979), pp. 7-8, 14-23; Huxley, *Dark Age*, 92; R.-J. Lilie, "Thrakien" und "Thrakesion" zur byzantinischen Provinzorganisation am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts," JÖB, 26 (1977), 43 n. 159. An opposite view is expressed by M.W. Weithmann, Die Slavische Bevölkerung auf der Griechischen Halbinsel (Munich, 1978), pp. 100-01.

name of Lacedaemonia was being used.¹

Apart from the name, the new city must have inherited also some, at least, of Lacedaemonia's institutions, which had survived from ancient times. The author of the Petition to the Patriarch, mentioned previously, maintains that that the inhabitants of Monemvasia were "ὑπόσπονδοι" to the Byzantine Empire, that they were its loyal and indefatigable "allies" and that they were "free", having preserved their "well known, customary and ancient Dorian freedom".² The term ὑπόσπονδοι and its equivalents ἑνσπονδοι,

¹ Cf. Bon, Péloponnèse, 47. The form Monovasia must have been the older: A. Diller, "The Scholia of Strabo," Traditio, 10 (1954), 34. The etymology would require a specialized study. The derivation from "only entrance" is obvious but the form "Μονοβάτη" has also been reported in an unpublished inscription of the late 13th c. in Helos. On the name H. Bourazeli, "Ἡ Μονοβάσια (-ιά) καί ἡ μονοβάσια (-ιά)," Πλάτων, 5 (1953), 255-65; H. Kinga, "Τό λαλούδι τῆς Μονοβασιᾶς," Δωδώνη, 14 (1985), 109.

² NE, 12 (1915), 289, 11. 17-23: "ὥς θ' ὑποσπόνδους τῶν οἰκητόρων τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτῆς ἐξελθεῖν μετὰ τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντος. Ρῆξ δέ ἦν· ρῆγες καί γάρ ἐκ μακρῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν χρόνων ἄρχοντες κεχειροτόνηντο, σύμμαχοι τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ρωμαίων τελοῦντες αἰεὶ πιστοί τε καί ἄοκνοι καί διὰ πάντων ἐλεύθεροι, τήν πατριον καί παλαιὸν ἐκείνην τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐλευθερίαν τε καί εὐγένειαν καί δῶριον ἁρμονίαν ἔτι περισώζοντες". The author refers to the 13th c. Cf. D.A. Zakynthinos, Le Despotat Grec de Morée (London, 1975), II, 117, on "πολιτείας εὐγένεια" mentioned in the promission of the chrysobull of 1301.

foederati and φοιδεράτοι were used during the first centuries of the Byzantine Empire to designate special categories of barbarian troops.¹ It would be absurd to rank the Lacedaemonians among the barbarian subjects of the Empire. The clue is given by the mention further on of the ancient freedom of the Spartans, which points to a still older meaning of the term. It is well established that Lacedaemonia was one of the Greek cities which retained in Roman times the privilege of municipal freedom, renewed by emperor Augustus, as did also the cities of the Eleutherolacones.² Some free cities secured their status by a special treaty called "foedus", whence the term foederatae. Furthermore they often styled themselves as "allies" of the Roman Republic and Empire and the words "σύμμαχοι Ρωμαίων" were often used officially to define their

¹ J. Maspéro, "Φοιδεράτοι et στρατιῶται dans l'armée byzantine au VI^e siècle," BZ, 21 (1912), 97-109; E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire, I (Paris, 1949), pp. 55, 185, 238 and passim; II (Paris, 1959), pp. 85-88; A.H.M. Jones, The Empire, vol. II of A History of Rome through the fifth century (London, 1970), pp. 174-77; D. Obolensky, "The principles and methods of Byzantine Diplomacy," no. I in Byzantium and the Slavs. Collected Studies (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), p. 57.

² Chrimes, Ancient Sparta, 71-72, 436; Jones, Sparta, 165; Jones, Greek City, 129, 131, 324 n. 63; Daremberg-Saglio, II 1, 582a; RE, III A, 2353; A.E. Boak-W.G. Sinnigen, A History of Rome to A.D. 565 (London, 1965), pp. 139-40.

relations with the Romans.¹ It is noteworthy that in the text of the Petition these same words are used, echoing the survival of the ancient privileges of Lacedaemonia several centuries later.²

We may assume that the activities of the inhabitants of Monemvasia were regulated by the maritime importance and proficiency of the city since they were to become traditional in later times. The abundance of wood and iron in the surrounding area and the existence of a series of ports, well suited to the purpose, point to the possibility that the building of ships and maritime activities in general were a very important factor in the selection of the site for the new city.³ In Justinian's vast empire the

¹ Jones, The Greek City, 117-22, 129-34, 319-25; A.H.M. Jones, The Roman Economy (Oxford, 1974), pp. 4-7; Jones, History, 223; Boak-Sinningen, History of Rome, 365-69; Heinrich Horn, Foederati. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte ihrer Rechtsstellung im Zeitalter der römischen Republik und des frühen Principats (Frankfurt, 1930). Cf. Barisa Krekić, Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen âge (Paris-Hague, 1961), 16-17, mentioning an "alliance" in 980 between Ragusa and Byzantium and referring to the city as "confederata" with the Emperor.

² NE, 12 (1915), 289, 11.20-21; Jones, Greek City, 324 n.67.

³ Chrimes, Ancient Sparta, 75; Hetaireia Meleton Perivallontos, 46, 60-71; Philippson, Peloponnes, 176-78; Belia, Στατιστικά, 102, 105; Cf. S.P. Lampros, Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά (Athens, 1912-30), III, 43-44, a letter of Bessarion to Constantine Palaeologos; also Enea Silvio Piccolomini, "The Commentaries of Pius II," tr. F. Gragg, Book IV, Smith College Studies in History, XXX (1946), p. 321, on the harbour and shipyards.

not in the

road system had collapsed and the unifying element was formed by the sea. The supremacy of Byzantium in the Mediterranean was attained by a small number of battle ships, which were stationed in a chain of maritime forts placed along the coasts. In the case of war the merchant ships, which were constantly moving between the ports of the Empire, could be mobilized to be added to the military force.¹ The newly created maritime post must have been of some importance for the communications by sea and it should be accepted that the successors of Justinian were interested to secure its privileges. Two references in later sources mention that Maurice issued a document with privileges for Monemvasia. One is found in the controversial Chronicon Maius and was rejected because until recently it could not be cross-referenced. The compiler, however, of the Chronicon Maius gives a perfectly sound date during Maurice's reign, the year 6101, indictio 11, which corresponds precisely with 592-93. He also mentions that Maurice was the first to grant privileges to Monemvasia, which were the rise of its church to the rank of a metropolis and "other

¹ A. Lewis, Naval Power, 26-31; Ahrweiler, Mer, 7-14; Abrahamse, 264-300.

privileges concerning the freedom of the city".¹

There seems to be no reason for rejecting this piece of information which is confirmed by the second source, a recently discovered copy of a chrysobull by John VI Kantacouzenos for Monemvasia. The name of Maurice, although corrupted, is mentioned first in a series of emperors cited in strict chronological order, who had granted privileges to Monemvasia "according" to chrysobulls, some of which were "ancient".²

It could be accepted, consequently, that the continuity of institutions and privileges of Lacedaemonia was secured by a document, the first issued for

¹ "Καί πρῶτον μὲν τό περιώνυμον καί ὑπερνεφελές φρούριον, ἐπισκοπή οὖσα τῆς Κορίνθου μητροπόλεως καί, δι' ἧς εἵπομεν ἀρετάς τῶν πολιτῶν καί χάριτας τοῦ ἁστέως, ὁ ἀείμνηστος βασιλεὺς καί μάρτυς Μαυρίκιος ὁ καί Τιβέριος εἰς μητρόπολιν ἀνεβίβασεν καί τριακοστόν τέταρτον θρόνον ἔταξεν ἐπὶ ἔτους ,στρα' ου, Ἰνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης πρώτης καί ἕτερα προνόμια περί ἐλευθερίας τῆς πόλεως ἔδωρήσατο " : Ps. Phrantzes, ed. Grecu, p. 538, ll. 11-16. F. Dölger, Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches (Munich-Berlin, 1924-65, rpt. Hildesheim, 1978), no. 92. He proposes the date 588, believing it not to be genuine.

² I.P. Medvedev, "Pozdnie kopii vizantijskich dokumentov v sobranij Biblioteki Akademij Nauk CCCP," VV, 32 (1971), 227, ll. 18-19: "ἐπιβεβαιοῦν τὰ ἀρχαῖα καί νέα χρυσόβουλλα τῶν ἀοιδίμων βασιλέων" and ll. 35-38: "ὥσαύτως τό στέργον ἔχειν καί τό ἐπίκυρον εἰς τοὺς ἐξῆς καί διηνεκεῖς χρόνους, κατὰ τὰ χρυσόβουλλα τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως τοῦ Ματθαίου, καί τῶν λοιπῶν ἀειμνήστων αὐτοκράτορων καί βασιλέων Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Πωγωνάτου, κυρίου Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, καί τοῦ μακαρίου καί ἀοιδίμου κυρίου Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου". On the identification of Matthaïos with Maurice, below, pp. 251-53, 398-405.

the new town, by emperor Maurice in 592-3 and that all later documents were based on it.¹ This could be the reason for the association of the name of Maurice with the foundation of Monemvasia.

The next name mentioned in the chrysobull of Kantakouzenos is Constantine Poghonatos. His interest for the city might have arisen from the fact that it was situated on the lines of communication between Constantinople and Sicily, where Poghonatos intended to settle.² Situated on the vital roads which connected Byzantium, Asia Minor and Egypt with Sicily, Italy and the West, Monemvasia was equally important for commercial as well as for military purposes and was indeed "guardian of the western entrance to the Aegean Sea".³

¹ "ἐπακολουθῶν δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κύρ 'Αλέξιος ὁ Κομνηνός καὶ ἕτεροι ταῦτα ἀνεβίβασαν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν": Ps. Phrantzes, *Grecu*, 538, ll. 16-17.

² The document was not known to Dölger and is not mentioned in the *Regesten*. A.N. Stratos, *Κωνσταντῖνος Γ' (Κώνσταντος), 642-668*, vol. IV in *Τὸ Βυζάντιον στὸν Ζ' αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1972), 210-27; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, tr. J. Hussey (Oxford, 1968), pp. 122-23.

³ P. Witteck, "The Castle of Violets, from Greek Monemvasia to Turkish Menekshe," *BSOAS*, 20 (1957), 601.

II . The Dark Centuries

After the middle of the 7th century the situation in the Peloponnese is obscure. The cities were badly affected by all the calamities which gradually piled upon them, earthquakes, epidemics and barbarian invasions, but it is impossible today to define to what extent each one of these factors affected urban life. The decline of cities in the Peloponnese has been attributed mainly to the presence of the Slavs, but the predominance of this factor over the others is not justified by the meagre information given by the sources or by the finds of archeology.¹ Corinth, for example, dramatically decayed and seems to have been abandoned since some time after 680 until the beginning of the 9th century. This has been invariably attributed to the activities of the Slavs, on the sole evidence of the Chronicle of Monemvasia. But it could have been also affected by the presence of the Arabs in the Mediterranean, who after the creation

¹ Bon, Péloponnèse, 27-63; D.A. Zakythinos, "La grande Brèche dans la tradition historique de l'hellénisme du septième au neuvième siècle," Χαριστήριον εἰς Α.Κ. Ὁρλάνδου (Athens, 1966), III, pp. 300-24; Abrahamse, 7, 64, 68-78, with the earlier opinions on the subject; C. Mango, Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome (London, 1980), pp. 65-73; M. Angold, "The shaping of the medieval Byzantine City," Byzantinische Forschungen, 10 (1985), 1-11.

of their fleet were to challenge the maritime supremacy of Byzantium.¹ Monemvasia, on the contrary, surrounded by tall and impregnable precipices and situated on the vital sea routes soon replaced Corinth as the most important port of the Peloponnese.

The importance of the port of Monemvasia for the sea route to Egypt, with which relations must have been established since the first years of the new city's existence, is revealed by the fact that a church in the city was dedicated to Saints Cyrus and ^{John} Ioannis the Anargyroi, who were worshipped in Alexandria. Their cult in the Peloponnese must have been promoted either by refugees from Egypt after its conquest in the middle of the 7th century or even earlier due to contacts for commerce. It is interesting to note that it survived until at least the middle of the 10th century.²

¹ Ahrweiler, Mer, 169. The Arab fleet was created after the middle of the 7th c. but there can be no evidence for raids from coins since the first Islamic coins were struck in 685: K.M. Edwards, "Report on coins found in Corinth," Hesperia, 6 (1935), 241-56; Fr. Gabrielli, "Greeks and Arabs in the central Mediterranean area," DOP, 18 (1964), 60; E. Eickhoff, Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland (650-1040) (Berlin, 1966), pp. 14-41; M.A. Shaban, Islamic History. A New Interpretation (Cambridge, 1971), I, 68-89, 81, 123.

² P. Peeters, "Miraculum Sanctorum Cyri et Johannis in urbe Monembasia," An.Boll., 25 (1906), 233-40. Cf. A.-J. Festugière, Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), Saint George (Paris, 1971), pp. 217-56, esp. 217-20.

The sea route which connected Italy with the Holy Land via Monemvasia can be traced in the description of the itinerary of Saint Willibald, bishop of Eichstatt. He made his pilgrimage in the third decade of the 8th century, when he was a simple monk. His account of it he dictated to his relative, the nun Huneberc of Heidenheim and it is preserved in a manuscript dating roughly from the time of the saint's death, at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century.¹ The extract of the journey from Italy to Ephesos reads as follows:

...navigerunt in terram Calabriae, ad urbem quae dicitur Regia...et venerunt in insulam Siciliam, in qua est urbs Cathinensia...et ibi mons Aetna...Et inde navigantes, venerunt ultra mare Adrium ad urbem Manafasiam, in Sclavinica terra. Et inde navigantes in insulam nomine Choo, dimittebant Corinthios in sinistra parte. Et inde navigantes in Asiam, ad urbem Ephesum...²

It will be observed that Willibald's ship came

¹ BHL, II, no. 8931. On the identification of the authoress: C.H. Talbot, The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany (London-New York, 1954), pp. 152. J.P.A. Van der Vin, Travellers to Greece and Constantinople (Nederlands Historisch Archeologisch Instituut, 2) (Istanbul, 1980), I, 15; Huxley, Dark Age, 94; Bon, Péloponnèse, 36.

² AASS, July, II (Paris, 1867), p. 505 and MGHSS, XV, I, 93, with variations in the reading of some words, the most important being "in Slawinia terrae".

directly from Sicily to Monemvasia. The journey continued towards Ephesos via Chios, somewhat north for a crossing to the Holy Land and though Corinth is mentioned, probably because of its connections with Saint Paul's visit, they did not go near it.¹

A few years after Saint Willibald's passage, in 746-7, the

pestilential death, which started from Sicily and Calabria, like fire spreading, to Monemvasia and Greece and the nearby islands arrived ...and this same disease of plague went straight to the imperial city on the 5th indictio.²

Monemvasia is the only port specifically mentioned

¹ The port of Kenchrees must have not been functioning since there are no coins of this period: R.L. Hohlfelder, The Coins, vol. III in Kenchrees Eastern Port of Corinth (Leiden, 1978), pp. 63-78. The fact that a rare coin of Philippicos Bardanes (711-3) minted in Sicily was found in Monemvasia is another indication that the city was situated on the sea route: W. Hahn, Moneta Imperii Byzantini, III, no. 24, pp. 198-99, 277, 312; M. Oikonomidou, ΑΔ, 32 (1977), Χρονικά (Athens, 1984), p. 4, pl. 2, no. 18. That Monemvasia was on the sea road to Ephesos is reinforced by the existence near the rock of a ruined monastery dedicated to the Seven Sleepers: H. Kalligas, "Ἐρειπωμένοι ναοί τῆς περιοχῆς Μονεμβασίας," Summaries of papers, 3d Symposium of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Archaeology and Art (Athens, 1983), p. 35.

² "λοιμώδης θάνατος ἀπὸ Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας ἀρξάμενος οἷόν τε πῦρ ἐπιμενόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν Μονοβασίαν καὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας νήσους ἦλθε... ἡ δ' αὐτὴ λοιμικὴ νόσος τοῦ βουβῶνος ἀνέδραμε τῇ ἐπινημῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει." :Theophanes, De Boor, I, 456-57.

in connection with the spreading of the dreaded plague carried by ships from Italy and Calabria. It proves that it must have been busy and well connected with the great centres of the then known world, otherwise the plague would not have been transmitted so easily.

In the description of Saint Willibald's journey Monemvasia is located in "Sclavinica terra". Some have doubted this statement regarding the itinerary as worthless, on the grounds that the saint's biographer had no accurate geographical knowledge whatever.¹ Nevertheless the work is characterised by absolute consistency and reveals a knowledge of geography which is uncommonly clear and rare in that age. Thus, unless an error occurred in the reading of the manuscript for the first edition from which all the other editions seem to derive, this information seems to be genuine and to refer to the relatively well documented raids, revolts and settlement of the Slavs in many areas of the Peloponnese during the 8th century.²

¹ e.g. Bon, Péloponnèse, 36.

² All the editions seem to derive from H. Canisius, Antique lectionis, IV (1603 ?), pp. 481-513, cf. AASS, July, II, 584: "Henricus Canisius edidit vitam S. Will. ex auctore Anonymo perantico". On the manuscript: T. Tobler, Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 308-09. On the Slavs in the Peloponnese: Karayannopoulos, RESEE, 9, pp. 442-60; Chrysanthopoulos, EEBE, 21, pp. 13, 252-53; Bon, Péloponnèse, 36-48; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 20-27, 383-4.

Monemvasia, however, despite the settlement in Laconia of two tribes of Slavs, the Milingoi in the highland and the Ezeritai in the marshes, as their name shows, and the confinement of its territory to its eastern part, seems to have remained free and the function of its port was unaffected by their activities.¹

III . Monemvasia during the 9th and 10th centuries

In the *De Adminisistrando Imperio* the author Constantine Porphyrogenitus explains how after a period of peace the Slavs in the Peloponnese had revolted, during the time of emperor Theophilos. Michael III, he continues, sent an army and succeeded to subdue any remaining troublesome Slavs "and only the Ezeritai and the Milingoi were left towards Lacedaemonia and Helos. And since there is there a great and very high mountain called Pentadaktylos, which runs like a neck a long distance out into the sea, and because the place is difficult, they settled upon the flanks of this same mountain, the Milingoi in one part, and in the other part the Ezeritai".² He continues giving

¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik- R.J.H. Jenkins (CFHB, 1) (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1967), 50/1-70, pp. 232-35; Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 48, 63; Zakythinos, *Despotat*, II, 25-27, 384.

² *DAI*, 50/15-21, p. 233, tr. by Jenkins p. 232.

details about the tribute they paid and their relations with the central administration. Then he goes on to another subject. "The inhabitants of the city of Maïna are not of the race of the aforesaid Slavs, but of the ancient Romans, and even to this day they are called "Hellenes" by the local inhabitants, because in the very ancient times they were idolaters and worshippers of images after the fashion of the ancient Hellenes; and they were baptized and became Christians in the reign of the glorious Basil. The place where they live is waterless and inaccessible, but bears the olive, whence their comfort is. This place is situated on the tip of the Malea, that is beyond Ezeron towards the coast. Seeing that they are perfectly submissive and accept a head man from the military governor, they have paid from very ancient times a tribute of 400 nomismata".¹

It has, almost unanimously, been accepted that this passage concerns the inhabitants of the city of Maïna and of the peninsula that took its name from the city.² But Porphyrogenitus speaking about the Slavs of Tayghetos refers to the peninsula of Maïna as a "neck" which runs a long distance into the sea and he would have pointed to his earlier mention if he

¹ DAI, 50/71-82, p. 237, tr. p. 236.

² Bon, Péloponnèse, 71-73; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 6-14, 381-82.

had really meant Maïna, as he does in other cases.¹ Furthermore the rest of the information given in the text, by which the exact geographical position of the town is defined, does not accord with the situation of Maïna. It is said that the city was situated on the tip of the peninsula of Malea. But Maïna was on the peninsula of Taenaron. This geographical error thought to be common in the Middle Ages, of confusing Taenaron with Malea, has been ascribed to the carelessness of the emperor.² But this assumption is not at all certain because there are more landmarks which should lead to allocate the mistake elsewhere in the text. "This place is situated on the tip of the Malea, that is beyond Ezeron towards the coast", writes the emperor. Ezeron or Ezeros is the slavonic equivalent of Helos, the region where the Ezeritai had been settled, the plain to the East of mount Tayghetos. The emperor in defining the position of the city takes Tayghetos as his starting point, on which he had concentrated for the paragraphs which preceded, concerning the Slavs. Speaking of the Ezeritai he is looking towards the East, and consequently the expression "beyond Ezeros, towards the coast" makes sense only if

¹ DAI, 50/72, p.236 "τῶν προορηθέντων Σλάβων"; 19/2, p. 82 "ὁ αὐτός οὖν Οὔμαρ"; 42/39, p. 184 "οὗτος οὖν ὁ προορηθείς σπαθαροκανδιδάτος Πετρωνᾶς", e.a.

² e.g. Zakythinos, Despotat, II, p. 7 n.3; Diller, Traditio, 10, p. 34.

the place is situated on the eastern coast of the Peloponnese, i.e. on the tip of the Malea. (pl. 1) If he had really meant Maïna, on the peninsula of Taenaron, he would have used a different expression, like ἐντεῦθεν τοῦ Ἐζερού or something similar, which would make sense, but certainly not ἐκεῖθεν. If it is assumed that he started his description from the eastern part of the Peloponnese, "beyond Ezeros" would then be the mountain and not the coast. Therefore it is impossible to accept that the city described by Porphyrogenitus is Maïna.¹ One must suppose that the official treatise contained another name but that a scribe delivered it wrongly, or that there was an intervention on the first manuscript by a later hand. This view, that there is an error in the name of the city mentioned in the *De Administrando Imperio*, is further reinforced by the fact that nowhere else before or after is Maïna mentioned as a city with privileges of autonomy, while the archeological finds suggest that it was a place administered by officials from the capital.² Furthermore the

¹ S. Menardos, "Ποῖοι ἦσαν οἱ Τσάκωνες," *ΠΑΑ*, 1 (1926), 262.

² On the manuscript tradition of *DAI*: G. Moravcsik, "Ἡ χειρόγραφος παράδοσις τοῦ *De Administrando Imperio*," *ΕΕΒΕ*, 7 (1930), 138-52. The name of a "comes" appears in a 12th c. inscription found on Tigani assumed to be Maïna: N.B. Drandakis, N. Ghiolés, C. Constantinides, "Ἀνασκαφή στό Τηγάνι τῆς Μάνης," *ΠΑΕ* (1978), 183-91, esp. 190-91.

abundance of early Christian monuments scattered in the ruined site of Maïna and all over the peninsula would make the narration of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on idolatry sound ridiculous. It even led some historians to reject Porphyrogenitus's statement as worthless on these grounds.¹

The detailed examination of the geographical information contained in the text of Porphyrogenitus showed that the city mentioned could only have been situated on the eastern coast of the Peloponnese on the peninsula which ends with the Malea promontory. Consequently it could have only been Monemvasia. The emendation proposed is supported by the fact that the two names have the same consonants and therefore the abbreviated word could easily confuse the scribe. Furthermore it is reinforced by all the references concerning the survival of municipal autonomy in Monemvasia; by the known fact that the Slavs did not penetrate the area;² by the scarcity of early Christian

¹ N.B. Drandakis, "Σκαφικαί ἐρευναί ἐν Κυπαρίσσω Μάνης," ΠΑΕ (1958), 199-217, esp. 216-19 and also ΠΑΕ (1960), 233; ΑΔ (1960), 106; ΠΑΕ (1963), 129. N.B. Drandakis, "Δεόμενοι ἅγιοι ἐπὶ τοῦ τετάρτοσφαιρίου ἀψίδος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Μέσας Μάνης," ΑΑΑ, 4(1971), 239; Kordosis, Δωδώνη, 10, pp. 418-19. Later sources indicate that the inhabitants of Mani were Slavs: Pachymeres, Bonn, I, 87-88; Chalkokondyles, Darkò, I, 30-31; C. Sathas, Monuments relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age (Paris, 1880-90), I, pp. XIX-XX; cf. Zakythinos, Σλάβοι, 61, 66.

² Koder, "Siedlungsgebiete," 315-31.

finds in the peninsula where Monemvasia is situated;¹ by the pagan survival noticed in the worship of some local saints;² by the fact that the majority of local folk tales deal with daemons and other similar spirits showing a strong survival of ancient religion, as well as conservatism.³ It is possible that there is a connection between the survival of paganism in the region and the old saying: "Χριστιανός εἶσαι γιὰ Τσάκωνα;"⁴ Another point which should be stressed is that the peninsula of Mani was fertile during the Middle Ages and that the phenomena of erosion which led to its present state have started after the 15th century.⁵

If the emendation is accepted the text of the

¹ They are limited to the ruins of a 5th c. basilica in Gheraki: BCH, 61 (1927), 454, and a complex of ecclesiastical buildings excavated near Molaoi, R. Etzeoglou, "Παλαιοχριστιανική Βασιλική παρὰ τοὺς Μολάους Λακωνίας," ΑΕ, (1974), 244-57, dating from after the middle of the 6th c.

² The miracles of SS. Cyrus and Ioannis: Peeters, An.Boll., 25, pp. 234-35; cf. H. Delehaye, Les légendes hagiographiques (Brussels, 1955), pp. 143-44.

³ K. Rhomaios, in an unpublished paper delivered in the 1st local Congress of Laconian Studies, Molaï, June, 1982. He stated that the vast majority of folk tales in the region of Monemvasia concern daemons.

⁴ I. Vlahoiannis, Ἱστορική Ἀνθολογία (Athens, 1927), p.12. On Tsacones see below 2 IV.

⁵ H. Waterhouse-R. Hope Simpson, "Prehistoric Laconia," I, BSA, 55(1960), 68n.117; II, 56(1961), 123n.70. As states Ciriaco d' Ancona Mani produced wine and cotton: Leda Moschou-T. Moschos, "Κιόνια Α'," Πελοποννησιακά, 13 (1979), 78-79 and n. 2.

De Administrando Imperio offers some additional and unknown from elsewhere information on the kind of relations which existed between Monemvasia and the central administration. They are defined principally by the payment of a tribute of 400 nomismata to the emperor, from very ancient times, as a form of guarantee of submission and obedience towards the Empire, represented by the strategos. Also by the nomination of the archon by the strategos. This means that the original privileges of Lacedaemonia have been limited because in the 2nd century A.D. it did not pay any tribute. The limitation could have been imposed during a rearrangement of the territory of Lacedaemonia and the Eleutherolacones, possibly when Monemvasia was founded or even later.¹ The fact that the payment of the tribute is presented as a very old imposition

¹ Sparta had not been tributary to the Romans: Boak-Sinningen, History of Rome, 139-40; Jones, Economy, 6-7. The tribute might be comparable to that payed by the cities of Dalmatia to the strategos: DAI, 30/130-131, p.146; A. Pertusi ed., C. Porphyrogenitus, De Thematibus (Studi e Testi, 160) (Vatican City, 1952), p. 42. It could also be chronologically related. Cf. G. Bratianu, Privilèges et franchises municipales dans l' Empire Byzantin (Bucarest-Paris, 1936), pp. 65-74; A. Toynbee, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world (London, 1973), pp. 276-78, 579, and esp. 638; A. Kazhdan, "La ville et le village à Byzance aux XIe-XIIe siècles," Le féodalisme à Byzance (Paris, 1974), p. 79; A. Bryer-D.Winfield, The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XX) (Washington, D.C., 1985), p.301.

would exclude the possibility that the inhabitants of Monemvasia took any part in the revolts and other operations against the central administration in collaboration with the Slavs during the 8th and 9th centuries.¹

It is not clear how the appointment of the archon by the strategos is meant in the text. It could be the enforcement of a person of his choice, but it looks more likely that he simply ratified an election by the citizens, or the aristocracy, or the elders. The mention in the Petition to the patriarch that the local rulers were "consecrated" reinforces this view.² The petition mentions also that the archon of the Monemvasiotes bore in the 13th century the title of "rex". This title used mostly by western and barbarian rulers had certainly a derogatory meaning in the

¹ DAI, pp. 228-45; Bon, Péloponnèse, 36-48.

² NE, 12(1915), 289, l. 20. Cf. Pertusi, De Thematibus, 42; Jadran Ferluga, Byzantium on the Balkans (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 432-33; Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Ἡ ἐν Ταυρικῇ Χερσονήσῳ πόλις Σουγδαία ἀπὸ τοῦ ΙΓ' μέχρι τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος (Athens, 1965), pp. 75-81, esp. 76. On the "elders", "anciani", etc.: F. Dölger, Sechs byzantinische Praktika (Munich, 1949), 19 and n. 44; D. Jacoby, "Un aspect de la fiscalité Vénitienne: le 'Zovaticum'", Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine (London, Variorum Reprints, 1975), no. IV, pp. 413-14; J. Longnon-P. Topping, Documents sur le Régime des Terres dans la Principauté de Morée au XIVe s. (Paris, 1969), 263. The administration of Monemvasia could, as in Thessaloniki, have been exercised by two persons: one locally elected and one imposed by the central administration: L. Bréhier, Les Institutions de l'Empire byzantin (Paris, 1970), 174.

10th century. As the text of the Petition puts it, it seems that the title was not in use after the Frankish conquest.¹

From the passage of the *De Administrando Imperio* one must assume that clusters of pagans may have survived until the time of emperor Basil I, but certainly that not all the population had remained pagan. An incident cited in Theophanes Continuatus depicts vividly what sort of idolatry may have been practiced, which strongly impressed the Emperor.² It is also related with events taking place in the area around the cape Malea and Monemvasia after the capture of Crete by the Arabs, during the siege of Syracuse by them in the year 878.³

¹ NE, 12(1915), 289, l. 19. On rex: Bréhier, *Institutions*, p. 172-73; F. Dölger, BZ, 31 (1931), 439-42. For the Slav rulers, Nystazopoulou, *Slaves*, 353-54. Cf. "ρήξ 'Ιταλίας": *De Thematibus*, p. 40; "εἴτε ρήξ, εἴτε τύραννος": Eustathius, Bonn, 417; "Στέφανος ρήξ ὁ Δούκας", M.F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XII) (Washington D.C., 1969), p. 27.

² Also Skylitzes, CFHB, 159-60; Genesius, Bonn, 116-17. Some sources attribute the delay of the fleet to the building of the Nea Ecclesia: Leo Grammaticus, Bonn, 256-57; Symeon Magister, Bonn, 691; Georgios Monachos, Bonn, 759. Cf. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg*, 222. A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II, (Brussels, 1968), 73-74.

³ Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn, 309-12.

immediately the naval forces which were prepared for Syria are sent to Sicily, under the command of a certain Hadrian as an admiral...He had not the luck of convenient and favourable winds and arrived with difficulty up to the Peloponnese and in Monemvasia in the port called "of Hierax" he anchored the ships waiting for a suitable wind, being, as it seems, lazier and not boiling with passion so as by venturing against opposing winds and by rowing through the intermediate stillnesses of wind and wave and hurry towards the objective. And while he was loitering for long in the aforementioned port and the sons of Hagar having imposed a stronger siege and used any means and hurrying to succeed before help to the besieged arrived, the city was taken by storm...
 ...Hadrian heard of the fact in the following circumstances. Not far from Monemvasia in the Peloponnese, where the Roman navy was stationed there is a place which is called Helos after the thick and shaded forest around it. In it some divine force was settled and was often worshipped by the shepherds who pastured their flocks there, so that, as they claimed, their flock remained undamaged. These deities were heard by the herdsmen as if discussing among them and rejoicing over the capture of Syracuse the previous day, its rasing to the ground and its burning down. All these were narrated at length by the herdsmen and the story arrived to Hadrian...He wanted to listen to it personally and was guided to the place by the herdsmen and through them posed the question to the deities (of) when Syracuse is going to be captured and he heard that Syracuse had been already captured ...which he did not think necessary to believe...
 ...after ten days the Mardaïtai and the Taxatoi of the Peloponnese, who had escaped the destruction, brought the deadly news they had seen, and from them Hadrian got the information and quickly, since the winds opposing to his sailing South became favourable to going North, he arrived to the capital and there he sought refuge at the great temple of God...

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This strange narration on the daemonic forces in Helos gives also a hint of how Monemvasia and its ports were structured .(Pl.2) The rock was the centre of a wider area and to it all the place-names were related. The port itself must have been a complicated system of piers for loading and unloading, docks and customs-offices scattered on the rock and on the bridge.(Pl.7)¹ One wonders if the lighthouse, which is mentioned in the 13th century, already existed.² Various functions were accomplished by surrounding ports, where ships could stay for longer, one of which was Hierax.(Pl.8) Situated at approximately 9 miles to the North of Monemvasia it comprises a long port, with deep water and a narrow opening, which could be closed by a chain and controlled by the castle and the little town above it. There was even visual communication with Monemvasia through a tower situated a little higher up. The conditions were extremely favourable for the repair and building of ships as well as for a long stationing. This place could have housed the shipyards which are reported to have existed in .

¹ G.L.F. Tafel-G.M. Thomas, Urkunden zur älteren Handes- und Staatsgeschichte des Republik Venedig (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. Diplomata et Acta XII-XIV) (Vienna 1856-57), III, p. 235 : "...intravit ipse ...portu Monovasia, quod est ante terram".

² Bartolomeo de Neocastro, RIS, XIII, 133-34.

Monemvasia.¹ Further to the North Kyparissi, as its name implies, offered wood in abundance from mount Parnon, which must have been suitable for ship-building.²

The port of San Nicolò as it is called in Venetian plans and portulans, near the ancient town of Epidauros Limeria is also a well protected port.³ Between it and Hierax there is another good port, called today Arianna. It could be identified with San Polo, which is found in portulans, after the name of the church, nearby. A little island in the bay has many ruins, including a church and is called Daskaleiō, a name which implies activities connected with a port.⁴ (Pl.2) Other

¹ Commentaries of Pius II, 321. W.M. Leake, Travels in the Morea (London, 1830), I, 219, mentions that the Italians used a chain, whence the name of PortoCadena, which he found in old maps. A.J.B. Wace-F.W. Hasluck, "Laconia. II. Topography," BSA, 14 (1907-8), 167-73; a plan of the harbour p. 168 and of the walls surrounding the town p. 169; Philippson, Peloponnes, 172-73.

² Belia, Στατιστικά, 101-2, 105.

³ Philippson, Peloponnes, 173-74, Wace-Hasluck 172-82 on the coast from Zarax to Malea, with a plan of Epidauros Limeria p. 180.

⁴ A. Oiconomacos, Ἀρχαία Ἐπίδαυρος Λιμνηρά, ἡ Μινώα τῆς Λακωνικῆς Athens, 1957), 32. The settlement on the little island must have been of considerable size. I would like to thank A. Tselikas, who is preparing a study on similar place-names for the remark on Daskaleiō.

ports in the western Laconiké could also have been used alternatively when the crossing of the Malea was dangerous, like Plitra, which has submerged ruins of a town, and Archangelos.¹ Their existence must have been combined with a well kept road system, connecting the main centre, Monemvasia, with all of them.

The fact that an organized road system was being maintained in the territory of Monemvasia can be deduced, for the 9th century, from a narration written by Paul, bishop of Monemvasia in the middle of the 10th century, which has survived only in translation in arabic.² It also contains other interesting details on the town's life during the reign of emperors Leo

¹ Leake, Travels, I, 226-27; Philippson, Peloponnes, 178-80, and 176-78 on the coast from Malea to Archangelos; Wace-Hasluck, 163-65, and 161-72 on the western coast; Waterhouse-Hope Simpson, Prehistoric Laconia, II, 134-40. The combined function of the two ports, Plitra and Archangelos, gave in the 19th c. the district the name of Diliménia: Γενικά Ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Κράτους, Ὀθωνική Περίοδος, Ὑπουργεῖο Ἐσωτερικῶν, Φ.111, 9/21.III.1835.

² On Paul and his narrations and on Nicetas, below chapter 6 I and II.

and Alexander.¹

The narration first deals with the fate of a castle called "of the cowherds", which existed before the conquest of Crete by the Saracens. Its inhabitants saw one day appearing from the sea two sarcophagi. One contained the relics of Valerius the bishop, Vincent the deacon and Eulalia the virgin and the other those of a series of minor saints, all of them from Barcelona. The sarcophagi landed on the beach and the "cowherds" decided to erect a church dedicated to them all at that site. But during the night they disappeared from the beach and miraculously found on a precipitous spot near the castle next morning. It was there that the church was erected and dedicated to their memory.

¹ P. Peeters, "Une invention des SS. Valère, Vincent et Eulalie dans le Péloponnèse," An.Boll., 30 (1911), 296-301. The narration has since been re-edited by V. Cristidis, "The raids of the Moslems in Crete and the Aegean sea. Piracy and Conquest," B, 51 (1981), 106-08 and 'Η κατάληψη τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τοῦς Ἀράβες (± 824) (Athens, 1982), pp. 181-83. There are, however, some mistakes, e.g. in the name of Eulalia, a well known saint, cf. Peeters, An.Boll., 30, pp. 298-301, which is clear in the manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms Arabe 276, fol. 246) and has been changed in the edition to Eulabia. Coron, also, former bishopric of Nicetas, is in the commentary, Κατάληψη Κρήτης, 186, cited as Modon.

After the Arabs conquered Crete they captured the castle "of the cowherds", situated on a small island or a peninsula near the shore, and took prisoners all the inhabitants. The site was abandoned. During the reign of Leo and Alexander passers-by discovered by chance the sarcophagi among the ruins. They opened them in the hope of discovering a treasure. Before completing their act they were thrown to the ground and their hands were paralysed. The news reached Monemvasia. Metropolitan Nicetas, formerly a bishop of Coron, sent some clergymen to investigate on the spot. They discovered the sarcophagi, opened them and took the contents with them on their way back to Monemvasia. In the meantime the metropolitan with the rest of the clergy went in procession to welcome them. The relics were placed in the chapel of Saint Irene, in the right part of the largest church of Monemvasia which was dedicated to Saint Anastasia the Victor. When the narration was written the relics still existed in the same place.¹

The editor of the text was unable to accept that the relics of the three most popular saints of Spain could have ever reached Monemvasia. He observes, however, that at about the time the facts of the story took place the relics had indeed disappeared from their

¹ An. Boll., 30 (1911), 299-300.

shrines. The matter cannot be simply resolved but certainly it cannot be excluded that some precious relics may have reached Monemvasia, perhaps through Sicily, with successive waves of refugees.¹ There have been several attempts since the first edition of the narration to identify the site of the castle "of the cowherds". Some place it in Elaphonesos, others in Damalá, others elsewhere.² All these places, however, are very far from Monemvasia whereas the mention of the procession and the ceremonial transfer of the relics to Monemvasia seem to indicate that the ruins of the castle were situated not very far away, but somewhere in the surrounding neighbourhood. Not very near, though, otherwise the metropolitan might have joined the people who went to investigate on the spot and the relics might have been transferred in the sarcophagi. One such place could have been, e.g. the little island of Daskaleiό, in the bay of

¹ Peeters, An.Boll., 30 (1911), 298-300; F. Simonet, Historia de los Mozarabes de España (Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia, XIII) (Madrid, 1903), pp. 245-54; V. Christidis, Κατάληψη Κρήτης, 184-85.

² J.B. Falier Papadopoulos, "Les reliques des SS. Valère, Vincent et Eulalie et le castel Damalet," Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati, III (Studi e Testi, 123) (Vatican City, 1946), pp. 360-63; Christidis, Raids, 86; Christidis, Κατάληψη Κρήτης, 185-87; M. S. Kordosis, "Ένα Λακωνικό Κάστρο του Όγδόου αιώνα (Έλαφόνησος)," Λακωνικά Σπουδαί, 6 (1982), 259-67.

appropiate
 San Polo, mentioned earlier. It seems to have remained ruined for several centuries and is at a reasonable distance from Monemvasia. (Pl. 2) One could also propose the site of Plitra, identified with the ancient cities of Asopos and Cyparissia. It is also situated not far from Monemvasia and is well placed for receiving refugees from the West. It has a sand beach, as it is implied in the narration, and a small peninsula, Xylí, with some ruins. In addition, the name Plitra or Blitra, the origin of which is uncertain, resembles that delivered in arabic as ALBIQAR. In the same word a deformation of Epidauros could also be hidden, which is another possible site for the castle "of the cowherds".¹ But unless the Greek text of the narration is found, or some other kind of historical or archeological information, any such theories will remain uncertain.²

The fact that in the narration the visit to the ruined spot seems very easy and that the procession could meet the visitors midway seems to confirm the

¹ Since the arabic text transmits the word as ALBQR, without the intermediate vowels: ms Arabe 276 fol. 246, l. 8, it is not necessary to interpret it with the vowels assumed by Peeters, An.Boll., 30 (1911), 297, which give the meaning of buffaloes or cows. It might reproduce the sound of the Greek name of a castle or a town or a site in the region of Monemvasia.

² The relics of Eulalia seem to be still in Greece as late as 1286: BHL, I, 406.

existence of a road system in good condition. Furthermore it can be deduced that Monemvasia had numerous priests and several churches, the largest of which comprised smaller chapels, one of which was chosen for the deposition of the relics. The fact that the exact origin of the relics was known to the inhabitants of Monemvasia shows again that in the 10th century the town was in touch with the important centres of the then known world.

From the reign of Leo and Alexander dates another interesting item of information. It concerns a taboullarios, a notary, whose existence in Monemvasia presupposes an organised city. Leo taboullarios of Monemvasia was the owner of a manuscript, now in the Vatican Library, which he signed on Monday 28 August 898 and expressed his relief in the colophon for coming to the end of the text, stating that for scribes the last verse is as sweet as a calm port for sailors.¹

During the occupation of Crete by the Arabs the area around Monemvasia suffered from frequent attacks,

¹ P. Nicolopoulos, "Ἡ ἀρχαιοτέρα ἄμεσος γραπτή μνεία τῆς Μονεμβασίας 898 μ.Χ.," Acts of the 1st local Congress of Laconian Studies, II, 227. On the office R. Guillard, Recherches sur les Institutions byzantines (Berlin, 1967), II, p. 306.

due to the proximity of their field of operation.¹ Monemvasia itself could not escape (the) Arab aggression despite its strong position. For the raid the only source, as is often the case with this sort of Arab enterprises, is a hagiographical text, written like the one on the castle "of the cowherds" by Paul of Monemvasia and also surviving only in translation in Arabic, the miracles of Saints Cyrus and Ioannis the Anargyroi, whose cult from Egypt had found its way to Monemvasia, as was mentioned earlier. The first part, where the attack is mentioned is as follows:²

Waller
 After the sons of Hagar, sent by God for our sins, invaded the town of Monemvasia and, after devastating it, took prisoners its inhabitants, they entered the church of Saints Cyrus and Ioannis the Anargyroi and Miracle producers. One among them, when he saw the portrait of Saint Cyrus, who, among the just, suffered martyrdom and whose portraits, being prominent on the wall, were admired by all, he threw his spear against the forehead of the saint's portrait. Instantly, by orders of the Creator from the wounded face of the image, which was painted on the wall, blood started flowing which descended towards the beard. When this happened and the barbarians saw it, they ran trembling out of the church. But the one who threw the

¹ An.Boll., 25 (1906), 233-40; An.Boll., 30 (1911), 296-301; N.A. Oikonomides, "Ὁ βίος τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων (10ος αἶς)," Acts of the 3rd Panionian Congress (Athens, 1967), pp.264-91.

² P.Peeters, An.Boll., 25 (1906), 233-40. The extract is translated from the latin translation by the editor, pp. 236-37.

spear was dashed suddenly against the earth by a daemon. And up to our time the miracle has never ceased to be manifest. Certainly the blood is seen, as freshly flowing as from a live human being from the forehead of the portrait towards the eyes, the nose and the chin...Long ago my predecessor Ioannis...proposed to renovate it. While he was doing this his right hand became thin and weak...his right foot dried up as well. And...until he died, half of his body remained paralyzed...

The short description of the Arab attack makes it hard to establish when it happened and also to evaluate its importance. To establish the date one must relate the information contained in the narration to information from other sources. The attack took place before the time of Paul, who was bishop of Monemvasia from at least 955. As he explains he was born and grew up in the city, but he does not seem to have been an eye-witness.¹ Therefore the event must have taken place before 925. Furthermore Ioannis, who undertook the repainting of the portrait, was not contemporary with the attack. He is indicated by Paul as his predecessor. He was not, however, his immediate predecessor since the Synodicon of Monemvasia records another name.² Ioannis must have occupied the See of Monemvasia, as will be seen later, during the first decade

¹ A.Kominis, "Paolo di Monembasia," B, 29-30 (1959-60), 231-48.

² Laurent, EO, 32 (1933), 131.

of the 10th century, consequently the attack must have occurred before his accession to this office.¹ Furthermore in the "Life of Saint Theodore of Kythera", whose activity is placed between 920 and 944 nowhere is there any hint on a recent attack of any kind against the town although various operations against the wider area are mentioned.² All the sources therefore indicate that the Arab attack could only have happened around 900. *cf. Demetrios Thel/withi*

In the series of bishops mentioned by the Synodicon of Monemvasia there is a long gap of about 70 years between the first Ioannis, the companion of Saint Methodius in Rome in 815-17 and the already mentioned Nicetas, metropolitan during the reign of Leo and Alexander who reigned between 896 and 902. It would be tempting to place the Arab raid during this interval. Since, however, the narration on the relics of the Spanish Saints, which takes place in Nicetas's time, contains absolutely no suggestion of any attack against Monemvasia by the Arabs even in a remote past despite the fact that it deals extensively with their raids in the area around and near Monemvasia,

¹ Chapter 6 II.

² Oikonomidés, "Άγιος Θεόδωρος, 264-91.

it is more reasonable to place the raid and the short conquest of Monemvasia after Nicetas's office, at the very beginning of the 10th century. In this case it must have been related to a series of attacks undertaken by the Arabs against many towns of the western Aegean, like Thessaloniki and, possibly, also Athens.¹

For the importance of the attack the only hint is the enslavement of the inhabitants. The text seems to imply that all the inhabitants were taken prisoners. Even if this seems exaggerated, the number of prisoners must have been considerable, otherwise a different expression should have been used by the author. The conquest does not seem to have lasted for long, however, because all the sources mentioned above, which refer to the first half of the 10th century, present Monemvasia as a prosperous town with many ecclesiastical establishments, where an abundance of miracles was taking place. The narration "about the blessed Martha", also by Paul, mentions two important monasteries, one in the upper and one in the lower town.² Also the "Life of Saint Theodore of Kythera", apart from

¹ Christidis, Raids, 76-111, with bibliography.

² G. Da Costa Louillet, "Saints de Grèce aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles: 7. Vie de Sainte Marthe de Monembasie Xe s.," B, 31 (1961), 344-46.

the churches in and around Monemvasia, mentions the port and a squadron of 4 chelandia under the command of a tourmarches, patrolling the waters around.¹

IV . The years up to 1204

From the 9th century, already, there were signs of change in the conditions that had prevailed in the Mediterranean since the end of the 6th century, and contributed to the growth of Monemvasia. The towns of the northern and western coast of the Peloponnese began, after a break of two centuries, to grow again for a multiplicity of reasons, among which a general demographic increase, the return of refugees from Italy after the attacks of the Arabs there, changes in the routes of navigation, the submission of the Slavs.² Corinth and Patras were particularly favoured by the new conditions. The redevelopment of Patras is especially evident in the efforts of citizens who had influence at the Byzantine Court, both to extract privileges for the town and its church and to display wealth.³

¹ Oikonomides, "Αγίος Θεόδωρος, 286-88.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 162 and n. 4,5; Mango, New Rome, 80-82; Angold, City, 11-18.

³ Bon, Péloponnèse, 128-33; Bouras, City and Village, 618-20.

Lacedaemonia, which was refounded in the 9th century, was gradually becoming an important trade centre.¹ Saint Nicon settled there after the recovery of Crete from the Arabs and was active for several years, both in the city and in the surrounding area.² His "Life" mentions that he built two churches and preached the repentance during a visit to the "country of the Dorians", a country of "ethnikoi". One wonders if paganism was not still alive in some areas of the country of the Dorians, as Monemvasia's territory was referred to.³

"Dorians", used mostly by scholars, was not the only name to designate the inhabitants of the region around Monemvasia. Tzacones, a name which does not seem to have been scholarly, was also used and it still survives for the inhabitants as well as the

¹ Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 44 n.2, 132-33; R. Morozzo della Rocca-A.Lombardo, *Documenti del Commercio Veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII* (Rome, 1940), I, pp. 69, 117, 134, 203, 204, 228, 307, 312, 334-35; M.S. Kordosis, "Τό εμπόριο στη Βυζαντινή Λακωνία (9^{ος} αιώ.-1204)," *Acts of the 1st local Congress of Laconian Studies*, 107-12; Ch. Bouras, "Ένα Βυζαντινό Λουτρό στη Λακεδαίμονα," *ΑΕ* (1982), 99-112.

² S.P. Lampros, "Ὁ βίος τοῦ Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε," *ΝΕ*, 3 (1906), 131-228; new ed.: O. Lampsidis, *Ὁ ἐκ Πόντου ὁσιος Νίκων ὁ Μετανοεῖτε* (Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, Παράρτημα 13) (Athens, 1982); Vocotopoulos, *Ἅγιος Νίκων*, 273-75.

³ Nicon, Lampsidis, p. 62; cf. pp. 436, 638. On Dorians see below ch. 5 III.

region situated in northern Paros, which had been part of the territory of Monemvasia.¹ The earliest known source to use it is the Turin-Kutlunus version of the Chronicle of Monemvasia, which explains that in the mountainous regions, which were "lately" called tzaconiai, settled the rustic people and the herdsmen from among the Lacones, who were renamed Tzacones.² All byzantine sources use the word to designate either a specific military corps or the inhabitants of south-eastern Peloponnese.³

So far no satisfactory explanation has been given as to the provenance of "tzacones" and the evolution of its meaning, although the literature is vast on the word, the area, its inhabitants and their language.⁴ The derivation from Lacones, proposed by the

¹ Possibly all the territory of Monemvasia: Ch. Symeonidis, Οἱ Τσάκωνες καὶ ἡ Τσακωνιά (Συμβολή στήν ἐρμηνεία τῶν ὀνομάτων καί τοῦ ὁμωνύμου βυζαντινοῦ θεσμοῦ τῶν καστροφυλάκων) (Thessaloniki, 1972), pp. 129-38.

² Above p. 72, ll. 5-8.

³ S. Caratzas, Les Tzacones (Berlin-New York, 1976), p. 92.

⁴ On mentions in Byzantine sources, the dialect, theories, and bibliography: Caratzas, Tzacones and Symeonidis, Τσάκωνες. Their own theories, the first proposing the provenance from "διδάκονες" and the other giving the word the meaning of "mountaineer", have not been considered satisfactory. Cf. Weithmann, Slavische Bevölkerung, 101-02.

Chronicle of Monemvasia and repeated in later sources has been rejected as being false etymology.¹ The derivation from the Slav word "zakon" meaning law has also been rejected, the main argument against it being that the tsaconian dialect is a Greek dialect and consequently the Tsaconians could not have been Slavs. One has to note that the word emerged when Monemvasia's territory was surrounded by the Slavs and the possibility of a Slav origin of the word should not be rejected. It could have been used, however, to designate the Greeks, a fact which is confirmed by all sources stating that the Tzacones were Greeks.² The Slavs could have used the word as a technical term an equivalent, possibly, of the word "foederati", which is not far from the meaning of "zakon". This would explain the double meaning of the word as, on the one hand, the soldiers, guardians of passages, and on the other, the inhabitants of the federate city-state of Monemvasia.³ Tzacones in its first meaning was

¹ Caratzas, Tzacones, 15-22, Symeonidis, Τσάκωνες, 147-48. Cf. Meletios, Γεωγραφία Παλαιά και νέα (Venice, 1728).

² S.A. Pagoulatos, Οἱ Τσάκωνες καί τό περί τῆς Κτίσεως τῆς Μονεμβασίας Χρονικόν (Athens, 1947), pp. 51-52; S. Caratzas, "Ἦσαν φιλοπόλεμοι ἢ ἀπόλεμοι οἱ βυζαντινοί Πελοποννήσιοι;", Ἐπιστ. Ἐπετ. Φιλ. Σχ. Πανεπ. Θεσσ., 17 (1978), 126-28.

³ zakon: νόμος, θέσπισμα, θεσμός, νομοθεσία, lex. K. Meyer, Altkirchenslavisch-griechisches Wörterbuch (Glückstadt-Hamburg, 1935); F. Miklosich, Lexikon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum (Vienna, 1862-65). Cf. ζακόνι: συνήθεια, ἔθιμο (from the Slav zakonŭ): E. Kriaras, Λεξικό τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς δημόδους γραμματείας (Thessaloniki, 1980).

later adopted as official by the imperial administration as has happened with other military terms.¹ As for the second meaning, its resemblance with Lacones must have led to the explanation that it was a local corruption of this word.

After the 10th century the references to Monemvasia in the sources become even more rare. Alexios Komnenos is said in two later sources to have issued a chrysobull for Monemvasia at some unknown date.² In the chrysobull of the same emperor, which granted trading privileges to the Venetians in various cities of the Empire Monemvasia is not mentioned and its name is also omitted from all the subsequent chrysobulls on the same subject. The importance of Monemvasia, strategically if not commercially, during this period is undeniable and the omission is rather strange, but it could be explained by the special status of Monemvasia and its ancient privileges. The same explanation could be given for all the subsequent omissions of the name of Monemvasia from the treaties with Venice. Furthermore it is possible that the

¹ Cf. "Zakonik", the charters and privileges of Greek cities, confirmed in 1349 by St. Dusan: Nicol, 1261-1453: 265; gradski zakon, meaning the particular urban statutes of cities: Bratianu, Privilèges, 115; zakonstvo meaning militia: C. Amantos, Γλωσσικά Μελετήματα (Athens, 1964), 384. Similarly the word δροῦγγος has been adopted by the administration, Ahrweiler, Mer, 278, n.3.

² Ps. Phrantzes, Grecu, 538; Medvedev, VV, 34, p. 227.

chrysobull for Monemvasia was issued by Alexios I to safeguard the privileges of Monemvasia against those granted to the Venetians.¹

During the 12th century a series of naval operations took place around the rock of Monemvasia and cape Malea.² To the great admiration of Nicetas Choniates, in his description of the campaign of Roger II of Sicily against various ports of the Byzantine Empire in 1147, the inhabitants of Monemvasia had the determination to defend their right to decide on their future and were able to confront successfully the attack, while the other cities, some of them very important, like Corinth, Thebes and Kerkyra, were not able to resist the Normans.

He attacked Monemvasia fostering hopes that he could grasp this citadel too without bloodshed like Kerkyra three days earlier. But he encountered with men who conduct their affairs prudently and who are not ignorant of the love of freedom and he was beaten as if he had attacked a bulwark which

¹ Dölger, Regesten, no.1288, no date. He considers it to be a forgery. No bibliography. The chrysobull for Monemvasia could, consequently, be dated near that of Venice, issued in 1082, Dölger, no.1081.

² Anna Comnena, Bonn, II, 122-23; Ahrweiler, Mer, 194-95. Edrisi mentions Monemvasia in his description, A. Jaubert, Géographie d' Edrisi (Paris, 1836-40), II, 124-25; K. Miller, Die Weltkarte des Idrisi von Jahr 1154 n.Chr. (Stuttgart, 1928), map no. V; M.S. Kordosis, "Η περιγραφή τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀραβὰ περιηγητὴ Edrisi," Acts of the 2nd Int. Con. of Pel. Studies (Athens, 1981-2), II, 261-68. Cf. Van der Vin, Travellers, 152.

cannot be moved and, stern foremost, he retreats without success.¹

Later, in the spring of 1149 a naval battle took place off the shore of Monemvasia, and the king of France was almost taken prisoner by the Byzantines.² In another sea battle, however, which was undertaken on the initiative of the strategos Constantine Angelos, stationed in Monemvasia with part of the Byzantine fleet, it was the Norman fleet that won.³ Members of the important family of Kontostephani, who participated in the naval operations in the area, could be the founders of the monastery of "Kontostephanos", which is known to have existed not far from Monemvasia. It may have been erected at a place overlooking the waters where a battle was won to celebrate the victory and could be identified with the 12th century church situated at Geroumana.⁴

¹ Nicetas Choniates, ed. Van Dieten (CFHB, 11/1), I, 73.

² Kinnamos, Bonn, III, 87-88, 98-100; Ahrweiler, Mer, 247.

³ Kinnamos, Bonn, III, 120-21; Ahrweiler, Mer, 252, on the date, which is not clear; F. Chalandon, Les Comnènes (Paris, 1912), p. 348.

⁴ Below pp. 279-81; 408. A.K. Orlandos, "Ἡ Παναγία τῆς Μονεμβασίας," ABME, 1 (1935), 139-151.

Monemvasiotes are found in Thessaloniki during the Norman attack of 1185 taking an active part in the defence of the city.¹ Merchant ships from Monemvasia seem frequently to visit the port of Piraeus, as the metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates observes in one of his letters.² At the same period Michael's brother Nicetas writes about a famous icon from Monemvasia, the icon of ^{Christ} Elkomenos, which emperor Isaac II Angelos wanted so desperately in order to decorate the church he was embellishing in Anaplos and had to use treachery to obtain.³ The icon of Elkomenos does not seem to have been an isolated work of art in the town. An important architectural monument, the octagonal church of Hodhighitria or Saint Sophia, as it is called today, was built on the rock overlooking the sea in the middle of the 12th century. The Constanti-

¹ Mentioned in the long petition to the Patriarch NE, 12 (1915), 288-89. Cf. Eustathius, Bonn, 445, who mentions a military corps from the Peloponnese under the command of certain Ioannis Mavrozomis. J. Herrin, "Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government: Hellas and Peloponnesos, 1180-1205," DOP, 29 (1975), 281 and n. 151 refers to another Mavrozomis, who was under the command of Andronikos Kontostephanos with the naval forces in Euboea.

² S.P. Lampros, Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα (Athens, 1879-80), letter no. πδ', p. 136-37.

³ Nicetas Choniates, Van Dieten, 442, Schreiner, Kleinchroniken no. 41/3, I, 319, II, 178; Bees, Ὁ Ἐλκόμενος Χριστός, 207-50.

nopolitan origin of its style, to which is also related the church of Geroumana, shows that Monemvasia maintained all manner of contacts with the capital, as well as with other places, and was an important centre of the time.¹

¹ G. Millet, L'école grèque dans l'Architecture Byzantine (Paris, 1916, rpt. London, 1974), pp. 116-17, 124-25, 160-63, 189, 247, 252; H. Kalligas, "The Church of Haghia Sophia at Monemvasia: its date and dedication," ΔΧΑΕ, περ. Δ', 9 (1977-79), 217-21; Orlandos, Πανατάνασσα, 142; plans of Haghia Sophia and other churches of Monemvasia in H. Xanalatou-Dergalin-A. Kouloglou-Pervolaraki, Μονεμβασία (Athens, 1974), 36-57. Cf. R. Traquair, "Laconia.I. The Medieval Fortresses," BSA, 12 (1915-6), 27-74.

3. 1204 - 1282 . The relations with the Franks

I . Leon Chamaretos

The leaders of the fourth Crusade drew up, after the conquest of Constantinople in April 1204, a first draft of an agreement, which became known as *Partitio Romaniae*, according to which they divided the Empire among themselves. During the ensuing campaigns the Latin conquerors did not always adhere closely to the clauses of their original agreement but they continued to use it as a basis for the distribution of the lands that they conquered.¹ Among the various problems concerning the *Partitio Romaniae* that have been pointed out long ago is that certain areas of the Empire are curiously not mentioned. This is even more interesting when one takes into consideration the fact that, according to all indications offered by the text itself, official information from the byzantine administration representing the real situation of the Empire on the eve of the Frankish conquest was

¹ Tafel-Thomas, Urkunden, I, 464-488; A. Carile, *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae*, "Studi Veneziani", 7 (1965), 125-305. On the document: N. Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l' Empire Byzantin à la veille de 1204: la "*Partitio Romaniae*", "Reports of the 15th International Byzantine Congress (Athens, 1976), especially p. 13 n. 29.

used, excluding the possibility of omissions due to ignorance or neglect.¹

Among the areas omitted is that of Monemvasia. As we have seen Monemvasia seems to have enjoyed some kind of self-government, which seems to be the reason why it was not mentioned in the chrysobulls of Alexios Komnenos and his successors granting commercial privileges to the Venetians. This too seems to be the reason for the omission in the *Partitio Romaniae*, which apparently omits all areas that were self-governed or had broken away from the central government.² For Monemvasia the omission is usually attributed to completely irrelevant causes or is not mentioned at all, because its area is confused with the area of Lacedaemonia,³ which, however, is specifically mentioned in the *Partitio Romaniae* as imperial

¹ Oikonomides, *La décomposition*, 11-22; D.A. Zakythinos, "Μελέται περί τῆς διοικητικῆς διαιρέσεως καί τῆς ἐπαρχιακῆς διαιρέσεως ἐν τῷ βυζαντινῷ κράτει," *ΕΕΒΣ*, 21 (1951), 179-209.

² Oikonomides, *La décomposition*, 21-22.

³ Oikonomides, *La décomposition*, 18; A. Bon, *La Morée Franque. Recherches Historiques, Topographiques et Archéologiques sur la Principauté d'Achaïe (1204-1430)* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 213) (Paris, 1969), p. 53; A. Carile, *Per una storia dell' Impero latino di Constantinopoli (1204-1261)* (Bologna, 1972), 198-99; P. Magdalino, "A neglected authority for the history of the Peloponnese in the early thirteenth century: Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of Bulgaria," *BZ*, 70 (1977), 321. Zakythinos, *ΕΕΒΣ*, 21, pp. 186-88.

lands.¹

Among the contemporary sources only two refer to the south-eastern Peloponnese, Nicetas Choniates and Geoffroy Villehardouin. Discussing events following Easter 1206 Nicetas Choniates mentions that the rulers of some areas had declared themselves independent. Such was the case of Leon Sgouros in Corinth and Nauplion and of Michael Doucas who had appropriated Aetolia and the land around Nicopolis and Epidamnos, while "Leon Chamaretos, who held koile Lacedaemon, was the tyrant of the Lacones".² In another passage, which is not found in all manuscripts he refers to later incidents, most probably of 1209-10, and writes that at that time Nauplion was held by a certain Gabriel, a relative of Sgouros, "just like koile Lacedaemon by a certain Chamaretos, a Lacon", while everything

¹ "Provintia Lakedemonie Micra et megali episcepsis, i.e. parva et magna pertinentia" : *Tafel-Thomas, Urkunden*, I, 468. On the term "episkepsis": Oikonomides, *La décomposition*, 14, 17; N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," in *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin* (London:Variorum Reprints, 1973), no. III, pp. 61,62.

² Nicetas Choniates, *Van Dieten*, 638: "Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σγουρός Λέων Κόρινθον διεῖπε καὶ Ναύπλιον, ὡς καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρέθη μοι· ὁ δὲ Χαμάρετος Λέων τῆς κοίλης κρατῶν Λακεδαιμόνος τύραννος ἦν τῶν Λακῶνων· Αἰτωλίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῇ Νικοπόλει προσοριζόμενα καὶ ὅσα πρόσεισιν ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον ὁ Μιχαήλ ἰδιώσατο" .

else was under Latin rule.¹

The combination of the information given by Choniates and the *Partitio Romaniae* with the text of a lead seal which mentions Chamaretos as "proedros of Lacedaemonia" led to the consolidation of the view that the archon Leon Chamaretos, following the example of Leon Sgouros, had established after the conquest of Constantinople an independent hegemony out of the imperial lands of Lacedaemonia, which he had governed.² Actually from the text of Choniates completely different conclusions should be drawn. Chamaretos is mentioned as τύραννος of the Lacones, which in the archaic language used by the historian means that he was the ruler, archon, of the Lacones, the inhabitants of

¹ Nicetas Choniates, Van Dieten, 611, in n. 11. 30-35: "τό Ναύπλιον παρά τινος Γαβριήλ, κασιγνήτου τοῦ Σγουροῦ, κατεχόμενον, ὥσπερ καί ἡ κοίλη Λακεδαίμων παρά Χαμαρέτου τινός Λάκωνος τά δ' ἄλλα πάντα Λατίνοις καί τοῖς τούτων θεσμοῖς ὑπεῖκουσιν".

² "Τῇ προέδρου Λέ(ο)ντος τοῦ Χαμαρέτου/ τυπῷ σφραγίδι Λακεδαίμονος τ(ύπον?)": K.M. Konstantopoulos, Βυζαντινά Μολυβδόβουλλα ἐν τῷ Ἑθνικῷ Νομισματικῷ Μουσείῳ (Athens, 1917), no. 697, p. 183. Cf. N.A. Bees, VV, 21 (1914), no. 16, pp. 196-97; V. Laurent, Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine (Athènes, 1932), no. 494, p. 176. On Chamaretos, Bon, Péloponnèse, 123 and n. 5, 164, 172-73, 204 and n. 67; D. Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée Franque," TM, 2 (1967), 466; Oikonomides, La décomposition, 18; Magdalino, Chomatianos, 321; M.S. Kordosis, Ἱστορικά καί τοπογραφικά προβλήματα κατά τίς πολεμικές συγκρούσεις τῆς πρώτης περιόδου τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας στή Νότια Ἑλλάδα (1204-1262) (Athens, 1984), p. 87.

the territory of Monemvasia.¹ The use of the word "κρατῶν" has the meaning that he held the valley of Lacedaemonia and does not specify how he had acquired it. The second passage by comparing the usurpation of Nauplion by the relative of Sgouros with the occupation of the plain of Lacedaemonia by a "Lacon" named Chamaretos, confirms that Chamaretos came from Monemvasia and hints at how the plain was occupied.² Consequently, according to Nicetas Choniates, Leon Chamaretos was not an official of the imperial administration but a local archon, who, as was the case with some other local archons of this period, managed after the fall of Constantinople to take under control areas beyond his territory.³

¹ Cf. Eustathios, Bonn, 417 : "εἴτε ρῆξ εἴτε τύραννος".

² Cf. Gregoras, Schopen, I, 98: "Λάκωνες ἄρτι προσελθόντες ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὓς ἡ κοινὴ παραφθείρασα γλῶσσα Τζάκωνας μετωνόμασεν" .

³ Oikonomides, *La décomposition*, 14-22. The title mentioned in the seal was out of use at this time : N. Oikonomides, Les listes de préséance (Paris, 1972), p. 299. It was, however, in use as an ecclesiastical title: S. Salaville, "Le titre ecclésiastique de "proedros" dans les documents byzantins," EO, 29 (1930), 429-31. There is however a possibility that the word was used in its original meaning of a person invested with a certain office: Salaville, 418. Magdalino, Chomatianos, 319 and n. 12. On the family N.A. Bees, Οἱ Χαμάρετοι, Ἱστορικόν καί γενεαλογικόν σημείωμα (Athens, 1903) .

Geoffroy Villehardouin devotes several pages to the activities of his nephew and namesake, during the period from 1204 to 1209 in the Peloponnese. He mentions that Geoffroy was shipwrecked in 1204 near Modon. An important archon learned about it and went to meet him. After informing him about the recent events in Constantinople he proposed alliance in conquering the Peloponnese, being certain that this was a feat that they could manage and offered guarantees of his fidelity. Villehardouin accepted and together they set out. Soon, however, the Greek archon died and his son, who succeeded him, renounced the agreements, appropriated the common conquests and turned the inhabitants against Villehardouin, who found himself in a very difficult position. He decided to join the Franks, who were besieging Nauplion and Corinth and with a few followers, after a dangerous journey on horseback which lasted six days, reached Nauplion.¹

The narrative of the Frankish historian, despite his precision, has certain difficulties among which

¹ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, La Conquête de Constantinople, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1938-39), II, pars. 325-326, pp. 134-37.

the most important is the identification of the Greek archon whose name is not mentioned. Nor can one follow the movements of the persons involved due to the insufficient topographical and chronological information given.¹ Concerning the identification of the archon several theories have been proposed. According to one of them he was no other than Leon Chamaretos.² It is interesting to examine this hypothesis. Leon Chamaretos was indeed the ruler of an important region of the Peloponnese and held imperial lands, as did the archon mentioned by Villehardouin, but he was hostile to the Latins and was still active in 1206 and, at least, 1209, whereas according to the Frankish historian the archon collaborated with the Latins and died during the winter 1204-5. If one accepted, however, that Leon Chamaretos was the son and

¹ Bon, Morée, 56-57.

² N. de Wailly in: G. Villehardouin, La Conquête de Constantinople (Paris, 1872), 192-93n.325; Magdalino, Chomatianos, 319. Cf. Kordosis, 1204-1262, 91 and n.2, on earlier bibliography; D.M. Nicol, The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca.1100-1460 (Washington D.C., 1968), 7,n.15; J. Longnon, L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée (Paris, 1949) p. 72; R.-J. Loenertz, "Aux origines du Despotat d' Epire et de la principauté d' Achaïe," B, 43 (1973), 379-80.

successor of this archon then there is no contradiction. On the contrary this double identification is supported by all the details extracted from the two sources. The statement of Choniates that Leon Chamaretos was the only archon, apart from Sgouros and his relative, who had hostile feelings against the Latins precludes the existence of another person who could be identified with the archon's son.¹

When, therefore, Geoffroy Villehardouin was shipwrecked in autumn 1204 near Modon, the archon of Monemvasia Chamaretos heard about it and hastened to meet him and proposed cooperation for the common conquest of the Peloponnese. This would be a guarantee that the Franks would not turn against him. It is possible that, during the intervening period after the fall of Constantinople, Chamaretos had already usurped certain imperial lands.² If he had not

¹ It has been usually assumed that the archon was based in Messenia, e.g. Magdalino, Chomatianos, 319. The text, however, mentions: Villehardouin, Faral, p. 134, "si l' en mena venz et aventure au port de Mouton. Et en qui fu sa nef empirie et parestovoir le convint sejourner l' iver el païs. Et uns Griex, qui mult ere sire del païs,..." The "païs" must refer not to the port of Modon but to Romania mentioned a few lines earlier.

² Loenertz, Origines, 379 n.2, thinks that Villehardouin and his companions were used as mercenaries. But Chamaretos must have also used his own forces, since, after the withdrawal of the Franks, he was able to resist the Latins.

already conquered the plain of Lacedaemonia then this must have been their first joint target, being situated between them. Their initial successes were interrupted abruptly by the death of Chamaretos at the end of 1204 or possibly the beginning of 1205. His son Leon Chamaretos, who succeeded him as archon of Monemvasia, did not have the same friendly feelings towards the Latins. Thinking perhaps that his forces were strong enough to stop them and retain his independence and having quite possibly established contact with Nicaea and Epiros, he broke with Villehardouin and usurped the common conquests.¹ The danger that the crusaders faced is underlined with emphasis in Villehardouin's text.² Probably Chamaretos maltreated the Latin forces some of which must have been trapped and perished.³ This must have led to the decision to attempt an escape from the hostile territory towards the Frankish forces, which had in the meantime advanced and were besieging Corinth and Nauplion. Encircled possibly east of the plain of Sparta, they

¹ Loenertz, *Origines*, 377-78. Kordosis, 1204-1262, 84-90.

² Villehardouin, *Faral*, p. 326: "et chevauche per mult grant peril".

³ Kordosis, 1204-1262, 75 and Loenertz, *Origines*, 380 n. 1, believe that Geoffroy had a number of men left behind, in Modon. Loenertz does not think that Villehardouin's companions suffered.

undertook a hard journey most probably over the rough inclines of mount Parnon. After six whole days, for a distance that could have otherwise been covered in two days on horseback, they reached Argolis.¹ Geoffroy did not accept the favourable propositions by Boniface de Montferrat to join him in his campaigns preferring to return and recapture with the help of Guillaume de Champlitte the lands that Chamaretos had usurped as well as the rest of the Peloponnese.²

Nicetas Choniates describes the subsequent operations of the two Franks with four only phrases: "μεθίσταται πρὸς Ἄργος, περιπατáνει τοὺς Λάκωνας, ἐς Ἀχαΐαν ἔνθεν προσβάλλει, ἐκ τοῦδε τήν Μεθώνην μετέρχεται".³ Between the arrival at Argos and the march through Achaia which ended in Modon, Choniates uses, concerning the Lacones, a rare verb which could be understood as an effort to show caution towards them and to avoid them as much as possible.⁴

¹ On the duration of the journey, Loenertz, *Origines*, 380 n. 1; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 76, 94 n. 26. Both count the journey from Modon to Nauplion. But since Geoffroy was so determined later to avoid the Lacones one must assume that he had been forced to cross their country. The fact that it took the horses so much longer would indicate paths and roads to which they were not used, in the mountains.

² Villehardouin, Faral, 137-38; Bon, Morée, 57-58; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 66.

³ Nicetas Choniates, Van Dieten, 610.

⁴ Cf. Kordosis, 1204-1262, 72.

The Frankish conquest of the Peloponnese proceeded from the West. Soon the Greeks gathered forces for the confrontation. In the battle of Kountoura, which followed, the Greek forces were led by a certain Michalis and apparently included contingents from Lacedaemonia, Veligosti and Nikli, as well as Slavs from the Tayghetos. In spite of the Greek defeat the Franks do not seem to have taken up position east of the Tayghetos and Lacedaemonia remained in Greek hands for a few more years.¹

The strife between the Franks and the Venetians, which started in 1206 or 1207 and which retarded the conquest of the Peloponnese, ended in June 1209 with the signing of the treaty of Sapienza. The text of the treaty gives a fairly clear picture of the situation at the time.² Among the lands that had not been conquered yet was the area of Lacedaemonia, which Villehardouin undertook to conquer and render the quarter

¹ Bon, Morée, 58-64, 67-68; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 65-101. It has been suggested that the leader of the Greek forces in the battle of Kountoura was the uncle of despot Ioannis Chamaretos, called Michael, on whom see below 3 II; Magdalino, Chomatianos, 319.

² Bon, Morée, 64-66, 69 n. 2.

to the Venetians. He already held, however, a place in the area, which belonged to him personally, called Mola. There seems to be no place with a similar name other than Molaoi, which, however, is situated very far from the Frankish positions, very near to Monemvasia and it is hard to visualize how Villehardouin could have got there. Furthermore it would be very difficult for the Franks to hold this position for a long time completely cut-off from their main forces.¹ (Pl. 1) Since in the text of the agreement names are often corrupted, one wonders whether under that name one should not search instead of Molaoi for Nikli, which was situated near the boundaries of the area of Lacedaemonia and was held by the Franks in 1209 and had a catholic bishop.²

The conquest of the northern and western Peloponnese seems to have been completed towards the end of the decade, but it does not seem to have advanced at all towards the south-eastern side. It is possible that other pressing matters distracted Villehardouin from this task but it is also possible that his arch-enemy Leon Chamaretos had withdrawn from the scene by 1209-10, and that his successor not having the same

¹ Bon, Morée, 69 n. 2.

² Bon, Morée, 68 and n. 1. The advance towards the plain of Helos seems to have been accomplished around 1223: Kordosis, 1204-1262, p. 146.

anti-Latin feelings, sought more friendly relations with the Franks.¹ These allowed for the development of commercial exchanges with them. In 1214 "μονεμβάσιος οἶνος" is offered abundantly and is much praised among the other delicacies of the imperial banquets in Constantinople.²

II . The despot Ioannis Chamaretos

The oscillations in the relations between the Monemvasiotes and the Franks could be explained by the apparent existence in Monemvasia of two parties, one pro-Roman and the other pro-Latin. The peaceful period during the second decade of the 13th century could be attributed to the presence of a pro-Latin archon who succeeded the pro-Roman Leon Chamaretos,

¹ There seems to be no attempt by the Franks after 1209 to conquer the area east of the Tayghetos. Bon, Morée, 68, 70 and n. 2, believes that Lacedaemonia was captured a little after 1209, but there is no evidence for it.

² "καί οἶνος ἐκ χίου ὁ ἡδύς καί στύφων κατὰ τὸ σύμμετρον, ὁ ἐκ Λέσβης καί γλυκίων τοῦ μέλιτος, ὁ ἐξ Εὐβοίας ὁ ἀρωματικός τε καί εὐπνους, ἀλλὰ καί ὁ Μονεμβάσιος εἰς πλησμονὴν ἡμῶν ἐκινᾶτο" : A. Heisenberg, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion. III. Der Bericht des Nikolaos Meszarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214," in Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte (London: Variorum Reprints, 1973), no. III, p. 21.

while the new disturbances at the turn of the decade could be due to another change of leadership, the rise in power of Ioannis Chamaretos, who was pro-Roman.

Only one source refers to him, a verdict issued by the archbishop of Ohrid Demetrios Chomatianos, who acted as judge for the despots of Epiros, where Chamaretos had found refuge after his overthrow.¹

Ioannis Chamaretos who bore the title of "πανευτυχέστατος δεσπότης", exposing his case before the tribunal stated that he was the archon of a sea-side city of the Peloponnese, which out of patriotism towards the Roman Empire, he had managed to preserve, together with its territory, free from the Franks at a time when all, powerful and weak, had submitted to them.² This was in opposition to the plans of his latinophile fellow-citizen George Daemonoiannis, who tried by intrigues to remove him. First he offered

¹ J.B. Pitra, Analecta Sacra et classica spicilegio Solesmensi parata, vol. VI (Rome, 1891), no. 22, cols. 87-98. Magdalino, Chomatianos, 316-23; D.M. Nicol, Refugees, mixed Population and local Patriotism in Epiros and Western Macedonia after the fourth Crusade," Reports of the 15th International Byzantine Congress (Athens, 1976), pp. 17-19; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 137-55. The new edition of Chomatianos: G. Prinz, Die novήματα διδωρα des Demetrios Chomatenos (Münster, 1980), has not been available to me.

² Evidence in the verdict shows that Lacedaemonia was in the hands of the Franks and Mani had accepted their sovereignty. Kordosis, 1204-1262, 146-48.

cooperation and his daughter as a bride for Ioannis's uncle Michael.¹ Later the proposal was transferred to Ioannis himself, who accepted in good faith, hoping that in that way he would be able to draw his future father-in-law to the pro-Roman party. In fact, however, this wedding was part of the plans to oust him. First his wife tried unsuccessfully to poison him and then she secretly transported all his movable property to the Daemonoiannis family house. She also spied on him and reported to her father on all his movements and his secret meetings. When they were discovered new oaths of fidelity were given to the credulous archon, only to be followed by the second phase of the plans. Ioannis was kidnaped during the night from the city port and was transported by ship to a deserted place, where he was abandoned. From there he managed to reach the court of Theodore Doucas in Epiros. Ioannis Chamaretos's report ends with the petition for a divorce from the daughter of Daemonoiannis.²

Theodore Doucas, in spite of the respect that he showed for his peer Chamaretos, does not seem to have been moved by his sufferings. He asked to contact

¹ Magdalino, Chomatianos, 319.

² The description of his sufferings suggests that Ioannis Chamaretos was young and inexperienced.

before the verdict the protopansebastohypertatos George Daemonoiannis, who was apparently a relative of his and knew of his plans to liberate the Peloponnese. He wrote a letter dated from December 1222 and entrusted it to his bondsman Manuel Stases.¹ Apparently the Franks had blockaded from land and sea the city of Chamaretos and the letter reached Daemonoiannis's hands with difficulty and only with the help of an archon in the Mani, who seems to have been in good relations with the Franks. The contempt expressed for Theodore Doucas and Chamaretos in Daemonoiannis's response, given inside the church of Saint George to the priest who delivered the letter, together with other evidence convinced the court of his bad faith and the despot was granted his divorce. Chamaretos, however, does not seem to have managed to return to his city and his fate after these events is unknown.²

Even though the name of the city, which was the object of the dispute between Daemonoiannis and Chamaretos is not mentioned in the minutes of the tribunal, there cannot be much doubt that it was Monemvasia.

¹ On the date: Magdalino, Chomatianos, 318.

² There seem to be no other members of the family in the area subsequently. Bees; Χαμάρετοι, 5-15, mentions a few names, none before the Turkish occupation. One comes from Monemvasia and the rest from Mystras, various villages of the Tayghetos, Karytaena and Gortynia.

To begin with, no other city or area of the Peloponnese remained completely free from Latin rule during this period.¹ It is established that the family of Daemonoiannis came from Monemvasia.² It is mentioned that Chamaretos and Daemonoiannis were fellow-citizens. The topographical indications concerning the city of Daemonoiannis, the daily movements of his daughter between her father's house and her husband's, the existence of a port as well as of a connection by land, which excludes Kythera, suggest that this was Monemvasia. The main reason for the rejection of this identification so far has been the assumption that the Chamaretoi had connections with Lacedaemonia and not with Monemvasia, that, therefore, Ioannis could not have been archon in Monemvasia. But it has been shown that two archons of Monemvasia belonged to the family of Chamaretoi and consequently this family too had ties with Monemvasia. Consequently it would be absurd to situate the events of this account of antagonism between the two families of the Monemvasia aristocracy away from their natural surroundings

¹ Bon, Morée, 70; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 146-49.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 117; A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Εμποροι καὶ ναυτικοί τῆς Μονεμβασίας στὸ 13ο-14ο αἰώνα," Lectures by Monemvasiotikos Omilos, Monemvasia, July 1979, pp. 16-17 and n.45-50; Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologen Zeit, eds. E. Trapp-R. Walther-H.-V. Beyer (Vienna, 1976ff) nos. 5033, 6221-6224, 90355.

and to search for areas and cities with which neither family had any connection.¹ The fact that on the rock of Monemvasia no church dedicated to Saint George survives is not a serious argument against this identification.² Many churches have vanished or changed dedication through the centuries in the lower town of Monemvasia.³ Furthermore in the vast ruined area of the upper town, where most probably Daemonoiannis's residence was, no Greeks were allowed to remain during the Turkish occupation and all churches have vanished. The only surviving church is Hodhighitria, which was transformed into a mosque and has subsequently been re-dedicated to Saint Sophia.⁴

¹ Magdalino, Chomatianos, 322; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 142-44.

² Magdalino, Chomatianos, 322; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 142-43.

³ H.A. Kalligas, "Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστική ἀρχιτεκτονική στὴ Μονεμβασία κατὰ τὴν Β' Ἑνετοκρατίᾳ καὶ τὸ καθολικό παρεκκλήσι τῆς Ἀγίας Ἀννας," Ἐκκλησίες στὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωση (Athens, 1979), esp. 254-55 n.3; K. Dokos, "Ἡ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκκλησιαστική περιουσία κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς Β' Ἑνετοκρατίας," BNJB, 21 (1971-74), 137-39 and 22 (1977-84), 328-29. According to André Georges Guillet (la Guilletière), Lacédémone ancienne et nouvelle (Paris, 1676), 584, the cathedral of Monemvasia was dedicated to Saint George.

⁴ A.G. Kalligas-H.A. Kalligas, Monemvasia (Traditional Architecture, IV) (Athens, 1986), pp. 12, 14, 15; H. Kalligas, Haghia Sophia, 220-21.

There is an important difference between the previous Chamaretoi and Ioannis, in the title of despot which the latter held. It is not known how, when and by which emperor it was conferred on him, considering that it was not the usual title used by the archons of Monemvasia, in contrast to other semi-independent hegemonies.¹ There was only one Roman Emperor before 1222, Theodore I Lascaris in Nicaea, from whom this title could emanate, and the particular relations connecting him with the archon of Monemvasia, which are not known, were apparently strong.²

On the contrary the relations between Ioannis Chamaretos and Theodore Doucas do not seem to have

¹ The Petition to the Patriarch mentions the title of "rex", above pp.120-21, as the usual title until the conquest by the Franks. On the title of despot : Magdalino, *Chomatianos*, 32-21; R. Guillard, *Recherches*, II, 2-15 esp. p.14; Bréhier, *Institutions*, 121-22; J. Darrouzès, "Ekthésis Nea. Manuel des *pittakia* du XIVE siècle," *REB*, 27 (1969), 56-57; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 147-48. The study of B. Ferjancić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i jusnoslovenskim zemlana* (Belgrade, 1960) has not been available to me. A. Failler, "Les Insignes et la signature du Despote," *REB*, 40 (1982), 171-86.

² Magdalino, *Chomatianos*, 320-21. It is difficult to accept that Ioannis, who seems to have been rather young, could have got his title twenty years earlier from the last Emperor of Constantinople, particularly since the two earlier Chamaretoi, who held the same office, did not have it.

been very close. The fact that Chamaretos sought refuge at his court should be attributed to the circumstances of his escape, which could have favoured his direction towards Epiros rather than Nicaea. This would be the case if the kidnappers had conducted him towards areas under Latin rule, on the western side of the Peloponnese, as far as possible from the areas held by the Greeks. In any case at this particular moment the situation in Nicaea was rather hostile for the friends of Theodore I Lascaris, following his death at the beginning of 1222.¹

There seems, on the contrary, to have been some connection, as we have seen, between Doucas and Daemonoiannis, who, however, seems to have been double-crossing him, coming into contact with the Latins. But he does not seem to have managed to succeed Ioannis Chamaretos as archon of Monemvasia.²

¹ Ostrogorsky, History, 434-35.

² Magdalino, Chomatianos, 317-20. If Daemonoiannis had become archon one would expect Theodore Doucas to mention it in his letter and the Franks not to have blockaded all the area. Laurent, Bulles métriques, 210-11, has published the seal of a George Eudaimonoiannis who had a similar title and who, he thinks, could be identified with the person involved in the verdict.

III . The surrender of Monemvasia to the Franks

According to the Chronicle of the Morea, as soon as Geoffroy II Villehardouin became Prince of Achaia, he expressed his intention to complete the conquest of the Peloponnese by taking Monemvasia, Corinth, Argos and Nauplion.¹ It is strange that the Chronicle should mention these towns as still being Greek, because they had already been conquered by the Franks. When Geoffroy succeeded his father, towards the end of the third decade of the 13th century, Monemvasia was the only Greek territory in the Peloponnese, and was an ally to the emperor of Nicaea and a threat to the Franks.² Despite his intention it was not Geoffroy II who managed to conquer Monemvasia but his brother William, who succeeded him in 1246.³

¹ Bon, Morée, 75-76; The Chronicle of Morea, ed. J. Schmitt (London, 1904, rpt. Groningen, 1967); vv. 2626-2644, p. 176.

² Bon, Morée, 69-70, 72. The Petition to the Patriarch also mentions Corinth as not having been captured by the Franks before William II became Prince of Achaia : NE 12 (1915), 287-88. On the contacts with Nicaea: XTM, vv. 2767-2769, p. 184-86; NE, 12 (1915), 289; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 1830 and 190 n. 8.

³ Bon, Morée, 72.

The Chronicle of Morea, which is the only source being used concerning the siege of Monemvasia by the Franks recounts that when William became Prince of Achaïa he observed that the best ports of the Peloponnese were held by the Romans, who were in contact with Nicaea and received supplies from there.¹ Starting his preparations to conquer them he came to an agreement with Venice, which offered him four galleys in exchange for the ports of Modon and Coron. In order to gather land forces he came to an agreement with the Dukes of Athens and Naxos, the three archons of Euboea and archons from other islands. The operations, it continues, started with the siege of Corinth, which soon surrendered. Then followed the siege of Nauplion, which was blockaded from the sea by the four galleys and capitulated the following summer.

¹ XTM, vv. 2763-2978, pp. 184-98; Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de la Morée, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1911), pp. 67-85; Libro de los Fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea, ed. A. Morel-Fatio (Geneva, 1885, rpt. Osnabrück, 1968), p. 48; "Cronaca di Morea," ed. K. Hopf, Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédites ou peu connues (Berlin, 1873, rpt. Athens, 1961), pp. 435-36. An account, with some differences, is also given in Ps.-Dorotheos, Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν περιέχον διαφόρους καὶ ἐξόχους ἱστορίας (Venice, 1761), pp. 474-75. His account was probably based on a different version of the Chronicle: S. Stanitsas, "Τὸ Ἱστορικὸ τοῦ 1570 καὶ οἱ παραλλαγές του: Τὰ Χρονικά τοῦ Ψευδο-Δωροθέου καὶ Μανουήλ Μαλαξοῦ," Πελοποννησιακά 16 (1986), 593-633.

After a respite during the winter, the following spring, the Prince gathered at Nikli his allies for the siege of Monemvasia. They were joined by the count of Cephalonia and other chiefs. Villehardouin installed his forces and the siege started. The blockade was completed by the four Venetian galleys. The inhabitants of the city took the matter lightly, considering that their castle was impregnable and their provisions sufficient for a long siege. Their haughtiness infuriated the Prince, who vowed not to leave before he took the city. He pitched three trébuchets to strike ceaselessly the lower city, "car sus la roche il ne pooit avenir".¹ In contrast, though, to Lacedaemonia where this procedure led to the surrender of the town after five days only, here it took "three years and more".² Only then, exhausted from hunger, did the Monemvasiotes decide to surrender and submitted certain conditions. The Prince accepted their surrender and offered them certain privileges with an official document that bore his seal. Then followed the solemn offer of the city-keys by the

¹ Livre de la Conqueste, p. 72. From this point there is a lacuna in this version up to the surrender.

² XTM, v. 6930, p. 196: "Ἐν τούτῳ ἀργήσασιν ἐκεῖ τρεῖς χρόνους γάρ καί πλέον".

representatives of the three most important families of Monemvasia, of Mamonas, Daemonoiannis and Sophianos, to whom the Prince gave presents and fiefs. After the installation of a garrison and of supplies the Prince proceeded to conquer the surrounding areas of Vatica and Tsaconia, which both surrendered without resistance.

Most historians accept the events concerning Monemvasia as presented by the Chronicle, rejecting the parts on Corinth and Nauplion.¹ However, the problems posed by this source, the omissions, the anachronisms, the bias against the Greeks, which all surface when it is compared to other sources, should have imposed at least some reservations, which would justify taking into consideration the Petition of the metropolitan of Monemvasia to the Patriarch, which refers to the same events, but which, curiously, is not used, probably because it does not comply with the Chronicle of Morea.² It is true that the information found in the Petition is bewilderingly different in several points from the generally accepted

¹ Longnon, L' empire, 17-18; Bon, Morée, 72-73; Kordosis, 1204-1262, 181-88 and esp. 190 n.11.

² Longnon, Bon and Kordosis do not even mention it. Nor does W. Miller, "Monemvasia during the Frankish period (1204-1540)," Essays on the Latin Orient (Cambridge, 1921), 232-33.

views, as we have seen concerning the foundation of Monemvasia. But the Petition offers generally many guarantees of credibility, as has already been pointed out.¹

The events leading to the surrender of Monemvasia as presented in the Petition are apparently based on Villehardouin's official documents.² The narrative which is very concise, without the picturesque details of the Chronicle, strangely also begins with the siege and conquest of Corinth by the Franks, following which the Prince surrounded Monemvasia with land forces and with a large fleet.³ He soon discovered that only a long blockade and hunger and thirst could curb the resistance. The siege lasted seven years and brought to despair the Monemvasiotes, who decided to surrender. It was the only time that the free city of Monemvasia was subjected to a foreign rule and a large number of the inhabitants who were "federates" to the Roman

¹ Cf. Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 18.

² NE, 12 (1915), 291, 11. 3-9: "Ὁ γὰρ ἐαλωκὼς ἐκεῖνος πρίγκιψ οὕτω δῆτα τῇ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσφκεῖωτο, ὥστε καὶ βασιλικοῦ τυχεῖν ἀξιώματος καὶ ἐς μεγάλου δομεστίκου ἀξίαν τετιμῆσθαι καὶ πολλῆς ἀλλοτρίας φιλοτιμίας παραπολαῦσαι βασιλικῆς καθὼς ἔχομεν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου γραμμάτων τῶν εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν σωζομένων". On "γράμματα" as official documents: N. Oikonomides, "La Chancellerie Impériale de Byzance du 13e au 15e siècle," REB, 43 (1985), 192-93.

³ NE, 12 (1915), 287-90.

Emperor, led by their archon who bore the title of "rex", preferred to emigrate rather than to submit. They took their ships and joined the Emperor in Asia Minor, who offered them the city of Pegai on the coast of the Hellespont to settle. Those who stayed behind, among them the bishop, were like captives and, fearful, were obliged to collaborate with the Franks.

The important differences in the information given by each source must be relevant with the effort of each chronicler to present the events under a more favourable light for his side. In the Chronicle the blockade from the sea is achieved with very small forces. The period of the siege is indefinite, something longer than three years. The dissidents are not mentioned nor their massive emigration. The existence of a ruler, who governed the city and emigrated, fails to be mentioned. Instead the three pro-Latin archons are praised and receive presents and fiefs from the Prince, to whose magnanimity the granting of privileges is attributed. In the Petition the existence of a pro-Latin party is omitted as well as the privileges granted to those who remained in Monemvasia, who are portrayed as destitute and forced to offer their services to the Latins.

Evidently only a critical combination of the information found in the two sources can give a more complete picture of the siege of Monemvasia. The Chronicle gives the information that the Venetians offered William four ships in exchange for Modon and Coron. This undoubtedly is an anachronism since both these ports had already been under Venetian occupation for more than thirty years.¹ Neither can it be believed that the blockade of Monemvasia could have been staged with four ships only, however powerful, considering that the Monemvasiotes had a large number of ships of their own. The need for a large fleet mentioned in the Petition must be closer to reality. The Franks could have used the fleet they possessed at the time, which, curiously, the Chronicle omits.²

Concerning Villehardouin's military forces the details given by the Chronicle could be accepted. It is strange, however, that the baron of Gheraki is not

¹ Bon, Morée, 66-67.

² Prince William joined the Crusade of Saint Louis in 1249 with 24 ships of his own: Marino Sanudo, Torsello, "Istoria del Regno di Romania," in Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, 102: "...il Principe Guglielmo venne sù le sue Galere e Navili a Nicosia..." On the number of ships cf. the siege of 1689: it started with 12 ships, but they were not adequate and more had to be added: Kevin Andrews, Castles of the Morea (Gennadeion Monographs, IV) (Princeton, 1953), 192.

mentioned among them, even though Gheraki, situated in the area of Monemvasia, is mentioned elsewhere in the Chronicle as one of the fiefs given to the barons of Morea earlier. It is possible that this information is also an anachronism and that Gheraki had not been taken when the siege started.¹

The detail of the placement of the trébuchets outside the city mentioned by the Greek and the French version, which is later repeated by Pseudo-Dorotheos, who transforms the stone-throwing machines into bombardards, must be attributed to the imagination of the Chronicle's poet, who must not have had a direct knowledge of the peculiar topography of Monemvasia. Even if William had managed to move troops and siege-machines onto the rock, it would be practically impossible for his forces to avoid the constant counter-attacks by the Greek forces, which were positioned much higher than they on the battlements of the upper city and citadel.²

The two sources differ widely on the information about the length of the siege. According to the Chronicle it lasted something more than three years and

¹ Bon, Morée, 112-13.

² Cf. Andrews, Castles of the Morea, 192-96, on the difficulties the Venetians had during the siege of Monemvasia of 1689-90 to move troops and canons on the rock.

started in the spring following the capitulation of Corinth and Nauplion, a year after William became Prince of Achaïa, i.e. in March 1247 at the earliest. Consequently it cannot have ended before autumn 1250. According to the Petition it lasted seven years. Consequently even if it started in the summer of 1246 the city could not have surrendered before autumn 1252, even if seven periods of hostilities during the summer are counted. As we have seen there is an established view, based on arbitrary alteration of the incidents recited in the Chronicle, that Monemvasia surrendered to the Franks in the summer of 1248, that is to say two years and a few months or three periods of hostilities counting from the summer of 1246 when William became Prince.¹ Further proof for this dating is supposed to be offered by the fact that the Chronicle mentions that after the surrender of Monemvasia the Prince spent the winter in Lacedaemonia, and there is proof that William II stayed there in February 1249, before joining in the spring Saint Louis and his Crusade, from which he returned in spring 1250.² However from ^{the whole} only the fact that Villehardouin was in Lacedaemonia in the winter 1248-49 ^{does} it is not proved that Monemvasia had already surrendered. The long siege did not impose on the

¹ Bon, Morée, 72.

² Longnon, L'empire, 217-19; Bon, Morée, 73.

Prince his constant presence and it must be considered certain that William moved as much as he could and could have spent some winters in Lacedaemonia, which was dear to him.¹

Another point which is hard to explain if the capitulation of Monemvasia is placed in 1248 is William's withdrawal from the Crusade of Saint Louis and his hasty return to the Peloponnese in spring 1250.² If, however, Monemvasia was still besieged his move can be explained as a consequence to certain information about the evolution of the siege. Another important factor causing many doubts concerning the accepted date of the surrender of Monemvasia is the certainty that up to 1249 no Latin bishop had been elected in its See and according to all indications the first one, Eudes or Oddo of Verdun, was elected in August 1253.³ Usually, however, the appointment of a Latin bishop followed soon after a new conquest. From

¹ William sent a letter from Lacedaemonia in February 1249, in which, however, one would have expected to find a hint on the capture of Monemvasia, if it had been recent: J.A.C. Buchon, Recherches et matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la domination française aux XII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles (Paris, 1840), I, p. 159.

² Longnon, L'empire, 218-19.

³ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. 23, no. 132, fol. 14^v; E. Berger, ed., Les Registres d'Innocent IV (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome) (Paris, 1884-97), I, no. 6952, p. 396; Miller, Monemvasia, 233; Bon, Morée, 100 n.1.

this point of view the surrender of Monemvasia should be placed not in 1248 but at the earliest in autumn 1252 or in summer 1253, a date which agrees with the information in the Petition. This dating does not contradict the Chronicle of Morea since it is not stated that William started the siege as soon as he succeeded his brother. Furthermore it could be accepted that when William returned from the East he tightened the blockade of Monemvasia and this was taken as the beginning of the siege by the author of the Chronicle in calculating the length of three years and more until the capitulation of the city.

Concerning the agreement for the surrender we must accept that, in spite of the omission by both the Petition and the Chronicle of the facts that do not flatter their respective side, it comprised two sections, one concerning those who wanted to leave and another concerning those who wanted to stay. The emigration of the Monemvasiotes with their ships to Pegai, where their presence is certain a little later, based on a local source, should be accepted. It is not known whether or not their decision to leave followed negotiations involving the Emperor in Nicaea.¹

¹ Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 360 n. 3, holds, without evidence, that the emigration took place after 1262, cf. P. Schreiner, "Ein Prostagma Andonikos' III. für die Monembasioten in Pegai," *JÖB*, 27 (1978), 205, n.10.

The section concerning those who wanted to stay, granted them according to the Chronicle several privileges, which the author of the Petition omits, even though he had at his disposition William's documents. The author of the Chronicle must have also used these same documents because he states the privileges William granted the Monemvasiotes. They were related to their inherited property, the exemption from corvées and burdens, with the exception of paid services with their ships, the recognition of immunity. If the *kommerkion*, which is mentioned as "ντάτζιο" in Pseudo-Dorotheos is also added, these concessions are the same as the ones found in the two chrysobulls granted to the city of Monemvasia by the first Palaeologoi. They are a proof that William Villehardouin accepted and renewed certain older privileges of self-government. Significantly Pseudo-Dorotheos mentions the issue of a chrysobull by the Prince.¹ Further proof is the fact that William did not build any fortresses to control the area as he did in the rest of Laconia, with the exception of one mentioned in the Aragonese

¹ XTM, vv. 2937-2940, p. 196; Ps. Dorotheos, p. 475. On this source above p. 156 n.1. On *datia* or *dazzi* as equivalent to *kommerkion*: F. Thiriet, *La Romanie Venitienne au moyen age* (Paris, 1959), pp. 229-32. On *ἐγκουσάτοι*, *incosati*: Longnon - Topping, *Le Régime des Terres*, 264-65. H. Kinga, "Ααλούδι", 111-14, proposes the derivation of this word from "allodium" an area, the inhabitants of which, according to feudal law, "erunt liberi". Cf. the case of Thessaloniki: Villehardouin, *Faral*, 88-89; Tivcev, *Byzantinobulgarica*, I, 178-9.

version of the Chronicle, and did not give any fiefs to his barons in the region of Monemvasia, with the exception of Gheraki. Gheraki, however, was certainly in Frankish hands before the conquest of Monemvasia and the area north of it where the castle of Estella was built, might have been also captured before the fall of Monemvasia, during the siege.¹

IV. Monemvasia under the Franks

Information on the Frankish rule in Monemvasia is scarce and it is not known whether the privileges granted were real or only nominal, if, that is to say, the Monemvasiotes were as the Petition to the Patriarch indicates, subjugated in a way to the Franks. Anyway the same source narrates the hardships of the orthodox bishop who was soon forced to abandon the city and his flock.²

According to the Chronicle of Morea, when emperor Baldwin II left hastily Constantinople in 1261, he stopped with his ship, on his way to the West, in Monemvasia. Prince William came there to greet him. Since at the time when Baldwin left for the West William was

¹ Libro de los Fechos, p. 49. On Gheraki, above pp. 170-71, n. 1.

² NE, 12 (1915), 289-90.

prisoner of the Byzantines and when he was freed Monemvasia had already been surrendered to the Greeks, this incident must either be considered unfounded or is another anachronism. The text mentions that he honoured Baldwin as was proper for a king.¹ The growth of Prince William's might have, however, excited his own ambition and vanity and according to Sanudo, he wanted to behave like a king and wherever he went he had a following of several hundreds of horses.² The Chronicle mentions elsewhere that since Prince William gained Monemvasia and broadened his dominions he did not have any one to oppose him in the world.³

William could certainly not imagine the consequences of his participation in the campaign of his

¹ XTM, vv. 1296-1338, pp. 88-90. Longnon, L'empire, 227-28.

² Sanudo, Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, 102: "la Corte sua pareva maggior d'una Corte d'un gran Rè. Sempre seguiva la sua Corte de 700 in 1000 Cavalli".

³ XTM, vv. 3142-3144, p. 210:
 Ἀφ'οὗτου γὰρ ἐκέρδισεν ὁ πρίγκιπας Γυλιάμος
 τὸ κάστρον τῆς Μονοβασιδᾶς, ἐπλάτυνε ἡ ἀφεντία
 /του·
 οὐκ εἶχε γὰρ νά μάχεται μένθρωπον τοῦ κόσμου .

father-in-law Michael II of Epiros against the emperor of Nicaea.¹ A detail on the army he assembled for the expedition in spring 1259 contained in the French version of the Chronicle of Morea is worth some attention. Prince William, it is said, gathered after the winter "all his men from the Morea and as far as Monemvasia".² Even though this could mean that he gathered troops from the garrisons of Monemvasia, among others, the testimony of Akropolites proves that the men from Monemvasia were not Latins. The historian reports that, among the great number of troops assembled, many were Franks but many also were natives of the Peloponnese and that most of them came from the race of Lacones. This verifies the Petition saying that those who stayed in Monemvasia were forced to collaborate with the Franks.³

The accounts of the ensuing crucial battle held in Pelagonia in 1259, which was to be decisive for the future of the Byzantine Empire, are not all in accord. All agree, however, that sebastocrator Ioannis, brother of the Emperor, in command of the Nicaean

¹ Bon, Morée, 121-22.

² Livre de la Conquete, p. 98: "si amassa toute sa gent de la Morée, et jusques a Malvesie". Cf. XTM, vv. 3618-3633, p. 240.

³ Akropolites, Heisenberg, I, 168. In the Bonn edition, pp. 179-80, the word Λακωνων has been corrected to Λατινων.

army, had concentrated his efforts in breaking the already loose coherence of his opponents' army, that his efforts were successful and that the Romans in the Latin army changed camp before the battle and were united with those of the sebastocrator, leaving the Prince alone to face them. As a result the Prince and a considerable number of his barons were taken captive.¹ It is not clear from the account of the sources if, among the forces that changed camp, the Greek troops from the Peloponnese were included. It is very unlikely, however, that they should have remained with the Franks since the number of William's companions in the battle is reported to have been very small.²

The situation in the Peloponnese after the battle of Pelagonia seems quite confused. The captivity of William and his more able barons formed a vacuum of authority and weakened the Franks. During the Prince's captivity a rebellion of the inhabitants of the Peloponnese is reported which may have been instigated

¹ D.-J. Geanakoplos, "Greco-latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration. The Battle of Pelagonia," DOP, 7 (1953), 118-35; D.M. Nicol, "The Date of the Battle of Pelagonia," BZ, 49 (1956), 68-71.

² Gregoras, Schopen, I, 75; Akropolites, Heisenberg, p. 170.

by Michael Palaeologos in his effort to exploit every possibility offered by his victory.¹

Among the poor evidence for the presence of the Franks in Monemvasia one might cite a name given in a Greek document, the chrysobull confirming the possessions of the metropolis of Monemvasia issued in the beginning of the 14th century. The metropolitan is given, among others, the houses, situated in the city of Monemvasia, which once belonged to a certain "Αρῆς", a name which should be seen as a deformation of "Henri", whose properties, after the recovery of Monemvasia were left vacant. He must have been important, since he had more than one houses, possibly an official, the governor, or a commander of the garrison.²

V . The recovery by the Greeks

William stayed more than two years in prison. The agreement with the Emperor for his liberation was not easy to achieve, since he was expecting castles and lands as ransom whereas the Prince offered only money. The sources are complementary concerning the

¹ Sanudo, Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, 107.

² Miklosich-Müller, V, 164 : "τὰ ἐντὸς τῆς Μο-
νεμβασίας ὁσπήτια ἃ εἶχέ ποτε ὁ Ἀρῆς". Cf. XTM, v.994,
p. 624: "Ἀρίς ντέ Ἀντουλο".

details of the agreement. The Prince of Achaïa accepted the Emperor's suzerainty and undertook to hand over certain castles to the Greeks. Monemvasia, Maïna and Mystras were to be handed over, whereas there is an uncertainty about the inclusion of Gherakî and of the region of Kinsterna.¹ After the formalities for the acceptance of the agreements by the Frankish barons and in their absence by their wives, and the exchange of hostages and guarantees, William reached again the Morea, before May 1262. The castles had already been delivered to the Emperor's envoys by Geoffrey de Bruyères, lord of Karytaena.²

The details of the events that followed, known mainly from the Chronicle of Morea, must be considered distorted up to a certain degree. The dates present the greatest difficulties. The situation for the Greeks must have been tight since they were restricted to the castles which they had received without any hinterland and met difficulties in their movements overland. Both sides must have considered the situation transient and sought for opportunities to

¹ Pachymeres, I, 188; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 1-20, 317-19; Bon, Morée, 120-25.

² Bon, Morée, 125.

end the precarious peace. It cannot be excluded that William's attitude, after the release of his oaths by the Pope was provocative but the reaction of the Greeks might have also been rash. The Emperor was informed on the situation and troops were sent to the Peloponnese under the sebastocrator Constantine, the parakoimomenos Macrenos and Alexios Philès.¹

Following the byzantine campaigns, in spite of certain setbacks a large area of the south-eastern Peloponnese, which included Tsaconia, Helos, Tayghetos and the Mani, was soon recovered. The situation seems to have quietened slightly in 1267-8. A one year truce was agreed with the Franks and an agreement was signed with the Venetians.² This may have been the period when the civil and ecclesiastical administration of the recovered province was organized. This dating is

¹ XTM, vv. 4515-5583, pp. 299-302; Pachymeres, I, 204-209; Sanudo, Hopf, Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, 116-118; D. Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 27-33; Bon, Morée, 129-135; Ahrweiler, Mer, 351-56; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, 201-02. Manuel Philès dedicated an epigram to the sebastocrator who was about to leave for Monemvasia: E. Miller, ed., Manuel Philès, Carmina (Paris, 1855-57), I, no. 234, p. 123.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 44; Ahrweiler, Mer, 349.

confirmed by the information in the Petition to the Patriarch that the ecclesiastical authorities were established in Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia at the time when Joseph was Patriarch, i.e. in 1267 at the earliest.¹

This was a suitable moment for issuing, as the Chronicle of Morea claims, various chrysobulls concerning the inhabitants of Laconia.² Among them could be the one issued by Michael VIII to safeguard the privileges of the city of Monemvasia, unless it had been issued even earlier, upon the delivery of the castle by the Franks. Of this document only a fragment has been preserved incorporated in the prooimion of the chrysobull of Andronikos II. The efforts of Michael VIII are stressed to free Monemvasia and to lead the city to its former prosperity, after the period of misery under the foreign yoke. The privileges granted are *exkousseia* and *eleutheria*, exemption from death duties and from the *kommerkion* for transactions within the city of Monemvasia. These are the same privileges that

¹ NE, 12 (1915), 291.

² XTM, vv. 4571-4580, p. 302. On the chrysobull of Monemvasia Dölger, Regesten, no. 1897, dated 15. VIII.1261.

Villehardouin granted to the Monemvasiotes and go back probably to an older period, the period of prosperity of Monemvasia, which the chrysobull recalls.¹ The privileges will be examined later in detail but it is worthwhile mentioning here that by granting ex-kousseia, immunity, the Emperor acknowledged the existence of self-government and this must be the reason why the officials of the central administration in charge of the Peloponnese did not settle in Monemvasia but in Mystras, which was to become the capital of the Byzantine province.²

The Chronicle of Morea mentions a certain Kantakouzenos, who held the office of "κεφαλῇ" of Monemvasia. There should be no doubt that by this word the governor is meant but it is not known how he was appointed, if he had been an archon locally elected in the place of "rex" or if he had been imposed by the Emperor.³

For the byzantine naval operations Michael Palaeologos secured the cooperation of the troops from the area of Monemvasia, the Tzacones, who were specially trained for naval operations. They were offered

¹ Miklosich-Müller, V, 154-155.

² On the privileges, below chapter 4 I.

³ Nicol, Kantakouzenos, no. 12, pp. 11-14.

attractive terms by the Emperor and settled in large numbers in Constantinople immediately after its liberation.¹ The Tzacones participated in the very first operations under Alexios Philanthropenos against many islands and the coasts of Laconia, during which many noteworthy successes were achieved. The exact date is not known but most probably it was before the agreement with Villehardouin in 1262, because otherwise all the sources would underline the violation of the clause of non-aggression.²

Michael Palaeologos secured as well the use of the port of Monemvasia for the needs of his operations, the transport of troops and as a base for the fleet. Since 1263, if not earlier, the port was used as a base for the Byzantine fleet, but also for the allied Genoese. One of the first operations staged from there, the battle of Sette Pozzi or of Malvasia, was not successful.³ The Genoese ships had set sail from Monemvasia for Constantinople. On their way they met, off Spetsai, the Venetian forces which

¹ Gregoras, Schopen, I, 98; Pachymeres, Bonn, I, 309; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 14-19, 382-83; D.-J. Geanakoplos, Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West. 1258-1282 (Cambridge Mass., 1959), 126; Ahrweiler, Mer, 337, 351-60.

² Ahrweiler, Mer, 357-59. The author dates it after the campaign of sebastocrator Constantine and Makrenos.

³ L. Belgrano-C. Imperiale, eds. Annali genovesi di Caffaro (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, XI-XIV) (Genoa-Rome, 1890-1929), IV, 51-52; Martin da Canal, "Cronaca Veneta," Archivio Storico Italiano, 8(1845), 488-92; C. Manfroni, Storia della Marina Italiana dall trattato di Ninfeo alla caduta di Constantinopoli, I (Leghorn, 1902), 9-11.

routed them and they had to return to Monemvasia to recover.¹

In Monemvasia as well as in Anaea, another base of the byzantine fleet, Monemvasiotes are mentioned who, with their ships, usually small, acted as officials of the fleet and are referred to as "^chomini^s imperatoris". Several of them, among whom members of the families of Daemonoiannis and Mamonas, are known to have participated in piratical attacks. Information on these attacks is found in the "Decisiones Piraticae", which refer to acts of piracy against Venetians in the years between 1269 and 1277. Among the roughly two hundred incidents about one tenth are attacks by Monemvasiotes. Some took place in the eastern Aegean and were based on Anaea, possibly Pegai and another Monemvasiot colony Herakleia. The rest took place in the south-western Aegean, based on Monemvasia.²

Piracy was often practiced in parallel with commercial activities and even though there is not much information on the achievements in commerce of the Monemvasiots at this period, it must be assumed that they were constantly growing.³

¹ Ahrweiler, Mer, 346-47. Bon, Morée, 134 and n. 2. On the port of Monemvasia above pp. 123-25.

² Tafel-Thomas, Urkunden, III, 159-281; G. Morgan, "The Venetian claims commission of 1278," BZ, 69 (1976), 412-38; Laiou, "Εμποροι", 2-8.

³ Laiou, "Εμποροι", 9-10.

4 . 1282-1380. A Century of Prosperity

I . Privileges granted by Andronikos II

Death found the emperor Michael VIII in Thrace in December 1282, after 21 years on the throne of Byzantium, years which he consumed in constant efforts to recover the Empire and to repel the external threat. His manipulations did not have long lasting results and, whereas they succeeded in averting the danger from the West, they left the eastern frontiers of his shrunken Empire defenceless and vulnerable; and they created serious internal troubles.¹ His last political success, a few months before his death, was thwarting in March 1282 the crusade which was being prepared in collaboration with Pope Martin IV by the King of Sicily and Venice to recapture Byzantium.² In the aftermath he found himself at war with the Venetians, in contrast to their other two allies. This was unimportant from the point of view of military operations but had important economic repercussions by causing the suspension of the commercial treaties signed between the Byzantine Emperor and the Venetians, to the

¹ Gregoras, Schopen, I, 153; Pachymeres, Bonn, I, 530-32; D.M. Nicol, The Last Centuries of Byzantium. 1261-1453 (London, 1972), pp. 93-96; A.E. Laiou, Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328 (Cambridge Mass., 1972), pp. 11-13.

² Nicol, 1261-1453, 72-75; S. Runciman, The Sicilian Vespers (Cambridge, 1958, rpt. 1982), pp. 214-27.

benefit mainly of the Genoese and Byzantine merchants.¹

At that time the Venetians held the two large ports of the western Peloponnese, Modon and Coron, which they used for transporting local goods and as ports-of-call on the routes to Crete and the East. The other important ports of the Morea Pylos, Clarentza, Patras, Corinth and Nauplion were controlled by the Franks. Monemvasia was the only important byzantine port on the whole southern and eastern Peloponnese. Through Monemvasia Mystras, the capital of Byzantine Morea, was connected to Constantinople and officials and troops were transported. Monemvasia was equally important for Byzantine trade.² The skills of the Monemvasiotes at sea, which had become traditional over the centuries were applied gradually to commerce. After the restriction of the commercial enterprises of the Venetians, which started in 1282 and lasted up to the signing of the new treaty of 1285

¹ Laiou, Andronicus, 57-58.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 147-80, 392-93; Bon, Morée, 158-59, 321-25, 414-17, 449-59, 470-71, 473-78, 492-93, 602-09, 670-73, 676-77. Cf. F. Balducci Pegolotti, La pratica della mercatura, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge Mass., 1936), pp 116-19, 145, 153.

between the latter and emperor Andronikos II, the Monemvasiotes were presented with a chance to widen their field of activities.¹

Shortly before, in August 1284, the first chrysobull of Andronikos for Monemvasia was issued. It is possible that, in view of the approaching regulation of the differences between the Venetians and Byzantium, the Monemvasiotes hastened to secure their privileges. Another possible reason, which might have prompted the issue of the chrysobull at this time, was the imminent disbanding of the byzantine fleet, the crews of which were mostly Tzaconians from Monemvasia and the region around it. The safeguard of their commercial privileges would also safeguard a positive outlet to the activities of the mariners, who would otherwise remain jobless and might turn to piracy, as was pointed out by contemporary historians.²

The chrysobull of August 1284 is the shortest of the four issued by Andronikos for Monemvasia. The praises for the "citizens" are still reserved compared

¹ Laiou, Andronicus, 56-62.

² Ahrweiler, Mer, 374-81; Laiou, Andronicus, 74-76.

to those in later chrysobulls where they reach exaggeration.¹

In the short prooimion it is stated that Monemvasia did not manage to avoid the detrimental consequences of time and declined once removed from the Roman rule and placed under Latin yoke. The inhabitants, however, who were not used to idleness, led their city after its release from the Latins to its former prosperity. And the prooimion concludes, "ὕπὸ Ῥωμαίοις αὖθις καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρχῇ τελεῖν ὡς πρόην ἐπευτυχήσαντες".

If this phrase is interpreted "the Monemvasiotes returned under the suzerainty of the Romans again" then it could have ended with the word 'αὖθις' and the addition of 'καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρχῇ τελεῖν ὡς πρόην ἐπευτυχήσαντες' would have been unnecessary. But actually this phrase should not be considered superfluous because it adds something different and essential to

¹ Dölger, Regesten, no. 2102. From ms. Escor. Σ-I-12 of the 16th century; first edition: E. Miller, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque de l'Escorial (Paris, 1848), 59. On the document: Peter Schreiner, "Παρατηρήσεις διὰ τὰ προνόμια τῆς Μονεμβασίας," Acts of the 2nd Int. Cong. of Pelop. St. (Athens, 1981-82), pp. 160-61. References in the text are from Miklosich-Müller, V, 154-55: Prooimion, 154, ll. 1-18; extract from the document by Michael VIII, 154, ll. 18-20 and 155, ll. 1-4; grants by Andronikos II, 155, ll. 4-14.

the meaning of the proimion, that when the Monemvasiotes returned under the suzerainty of the Romans they were placed under the same terms as before the Frankish conquest. That is to say a certain relationship is implied, that existed before the conquest of the city by Villehardouin. This return to the previous terms is expressed as a particular favour to the Monemvasiotes by the word ἐπετυχήσαντες. The whole meaning of the phrase will become clearer after the detailed examination of the privileges and the comparison between those granted by Michael and Andronikos.

The proimion is followed by the enumeration of . . . privileges granted to the Monemvasiotes by the Emperor's father, Michael VIII, "among innumerable favours". He had granted three sets of privileges. First, complete "exkousseia" and "eleutheria", second, exemption of all property which came from inheritance from any tax or other obligation and third, complete exemption from the payment of kommerkion for any commercial transactions which took place in the city of Monemvasia.

Andronikos then stresses his goodwill towards the "oiketores", the inhabitants of Monemvasia, who asked for the renewal of their privileges and he recounts them. There are again three sets: "exkousseia"

and "anenchlesia", second the exemption of their inherited property from any duties, with the explanation that this is valid only for property that up to that time had the privilege of eleutheria and finally exemption from payment of kommerkion for the commercial transactions in the city of Monemvasia.

The first set of privileges is divided into two parts. In the first part both emperors grant complete exkousseia. This privilege, which could be complete or partial, should be considered as the equivalent of immunity and concerned mainly exemption from economic obligations. The meaning, however, of exkousseia was much broader, the economic exemptions being only one aspect of the privilege. Through exkousseia the beneficiaries, cities, monasteries or individuals, could reach a state of autonomy from the central authority.¹ Concerning the immunity of cities its

¹ G. Ostrogorski, "Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance," B, 28 (1958), 165-254, esp. 241; H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, Recherches sur les Douanes à Byzance. L'"octava", le "kommerkion" et les commerciaux (Paris, 1963), pp. 145-47; Longnon-Topping, Le Régime des Terres, 264-65.

particular meaning has not been studied in detail. There are many indications that the granting of this privilege was combined with the granting of autonomy or actually meant autonomy.¹ As a recognition of autonomy one could interpret the confirmation of the preexisting *exkousseia* by the chrysobull which Andronikos II granted to the city of Ioannina in 1319: "...the city of Ioannina is preserved in every eleutheria and *exkousseia* according to their previous custom...".² Here Andronikos reconfirmed a preexisting condition, just as, in the case of Monemvasia, Michael had done earlier and this is recorded in the prooimion of the chrysobull of 1284 for Monemvasia, where the return to the preexisting status is mentioned.

Consequently we must assume that Michael VIII, by acknowledging the existence for the city of Monemvasia of *exkousseia* and reconfirming it for the future, reintroduced after its liberation from Latin rule the old privilege of municipal autonomy in

¹ Ostrogorski, *Immunité*, 235 and n. 5; Kazhdan, 'Ville', without special reference on *exkousseia*; Bratianu, *Privilèges*, 101-36; Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, 45-47, who disagrees with the view that *exkousseia* was more than a fiscal exemption. Cf. Laiou, *Andronicus*, 192.

² Miklosich-Müller, V, 77-84, D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479. A contribution to the history of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 83-86, 239. *Exkousseia* is granted to Ioannina together with exemption from *kommerkion*, as in the case of Monemvasia. In any case Ioannina enjoyed only partial immunity. Cf. Laiou, *Andronicus*, 208-09.

whatever form it had acquired after an evolution of several centuries.

Apart from *exkousseia* in the first set of privileges "*eleutheria*" was granted by Michael, while Andronikos granted "*anenchlesia*". *Eleutheria*, clearly an economic privilege, exemption from taxes, is equivalent to *anenchlesia*, non liability to taxes payable to government officials. These two privileges could be considered identical, as well as the whole first set of privileges.¹

The second set of privileges granted by the two emperors concerns property acquired by inheritance but it is expressed slightly differently by each of them. Michael is presented exempting the *Monemvasiotes* from any tax (*τέλος*) or other obligation (*βάρος*). Andronikos adds a condition, that the benefit applies only to property which is already subject to this exemption. It is a limitation of the privileges granted by Michael, since it did not allow for property which would be acquired by *Monemvasiotes* after the issue of the chrysobull to be subject to them.²

¹ Kazhdan, *Ville*, 79; F. Dölger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung (Leipzig-Berlin, 1927), 128; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 183. G. Ostrogorski, Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine (Brussels, 1954), 107, 125, 171.

² Schreiner, *Προνόμια*, 161; Ostrogorski, *Féodalité*, 311.

It is indeed possible that Andronikos sought to limit these privileges not only because the financial situation of the Monemvasiotes had improved a lot but for another reason too. The Monemvasiotes had already shown tendencies to expand further from the limits of their territory. These tendencies had been manifested already during the Frankish conquest of the Peloponnese with the seizure of imperial lands by Leon Chamaretos. Later the Monemvasiotes, who took part with Michael's fleet in the conquest of certain islands, must have raised claims on some of them, since Salamis is mentioned paying acrostichon to them in 1319.¹

One gets the impression that, with the privileges Michael granted, he sanctioned the possession by the Monemvasiotes of lands that did not belong to them originally and were not situated within the territory of Monemvasia and thus regulated the boundaries with the imperial possessions. Because the Monemvasiotes still participated in military operations and

¹ R. Predelli, I Libri Commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia regesti (1293-1787), I (Venice, 1876), no. 179, p. 207. It is possible that Coulouri was misread for Kythera, which would be more likely to belong to the territory of Monemvasia. Another mistake in the same volume, no. 185, p. 42, where Delos is cited instead of Cervi. Cf. A. Rubió y Lluch, Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (Barcelona, 1947), pp. 13-14. On acrostichon: Longnon-Topping, Le Régime des Terres, 268-69.

there was danger that they might want to expand further, Andronikos may have decided to limit their rights so that they would not raise claims to lands other than those already under their possession and which were subject to immunity.

The third set of privileges is identically repeated by both emperors. It concerns the complete exemption of all the inhabitants of Monemvasia from the tax called the *kommerkion*, for any transactions which took place in their city. There is evidence, however, found in an *argyroboullon* issued in 1450 by despot Demetrios Palaeologos, which we will examine later, that in the mid-15th century the *kommerkion* was collected in Monemvasia by the city authorities. This document allows the use of the *kommerkion*, which "ἀπό παλαιᾶς συνηθείας καὶ νομῆς" was collected in the city of Monemvasia, for the construction of the walls of the city. Since all previous documents exempted the inhabitants from the obligation to pay this tax, it would be reasonable to assume that the *argyroboullon*, which merely regulated the use of the money collected, presupposed the constant collection of *kommerkion*, not, however, by the central government.¹

¹ Miklosich-Müller, V, 170-71; A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," *DOP*, 34-35 (1980-81), 34-35 and 208; Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, 146, 148; Nicol, *Despotate II*, 226. On *kommerkion*: Antoniadis-Bibicou, 104-113, 145-52 and *passim*, Laiou, *Andronicus*, 257 n. 57.

This view is reinforced by the fact that although Monemvasia had been continuously since its foundation an important port, no seals of officials of the *kommerkion* have ever been found. This lack, which has been considered accidental, is impressive, since they are found in abundance in other ports of the Empire. It could be due to the fact that the tax was collected by the city authorities and not by special officials of the central government. Reintroduced by Michael VIII, after the liberation of the city from the Franks, the exemption from the *kommerkion* constitutes most probably a reinforcement of an older privilege, which was a survival of Roman and Late Roman institutions directly connected with the existence of municipal autonomy in cities.¹

The conclusion from the examination of the first chrysobull that Andronikos II issued for Monemvasia is that in it he merely repeated almost identically but slightly restricted the privileges, which his father had granted to this city twenty years earlier.

¹ On the seals: Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 101, 165-66, 270; Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, 185-91, who cites the example of Mylassa, where the customs duties, the *poritorium*, were collected by the city authorities, expressing doubts, however, about the survival of municipal autonomy. In Chaldea, which also enjoyed some kind of autonomy, names of *kommerkiarii* are mentioned: Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos*, 301.

Having confirmed these privileges at a time when the conditions were favourable the Monemvasiotes were able to widen their field of activities. Merchants traveled with their ships in large numbers throughout the Aegean and the Black Sea and were found in most of the important ports of the Eastern Mediterranean. The city developed into a centre of transactions and of accumulation of goods, a centre much larger than before, of economic and other activities. During the reign of Andronikos Monemvasia was established as perhaps the most prosperous city of Byzantium.¹ The increase in local production must have had an invigorating effect on the wider area of Monemvasia and also on the urban centre, where the commercial activities were concentrated, while new inhabitants were attracted and goods and wealth were accumulated.²

¹ Laiou, "Εμποροι, 5-7, 10-12; Laiou, DOP 34-35, 182, 185, 190, 195, 217; N. Oikonomides, Hommes d'affaires Grecs et Latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles) (Montreal-Paris, 1979), pp. 87-88. On Byzantine merchants in general: A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Greek merchant of the Palaeologan period: a collective portrait," ΠΑΑ, 57 (1982), 96-132.

² As will be seen below, wheat and wine seem to have been the main products Monemvasiot merchants handled. The impressive growth of the city could be attested archeologically, cf. Kalligas, Monemvasia, 25. There are also hints in the sources e.g. the chrysobull of 1301; St. Binon, "L'histoire et la légende de deux chrysobulles d'Andronic II en faveur de Monemvasie. Maccaire ou Phrantzès," EO, 37 (1938), p.306, l. 19-20: "καί πλῆθος μάλιστα οἰκητόρων".

The wealth that was amassed made the city attractive to pirates. The Catalan admiral Roger de Lluria raided Monemvasia in 1292, among a series of attacks and raids, which he carried out against Byzantine cities, starting from Lemnos and ending in Kerkyra. He claimed that the attacks were meant as a revenge against the Emperor of the Romans for an old debt of his to the king of Aragon. In the narration of his feats the description is limited to the impressive loot he carried from each city. For Monemvasia some details are given. How de Lluria using a clever stratagem managed to capture the bishop and to seize the riches that the terrified inhabitants abandoned unprotected in their flight.¹

The great development of the city on the threshold of the 14th century but also the favour of the Emperor, which became legendary in local tradition,

¹ Bartolomeo de Neocastro, RIS, XIII, 133-34, with interesting details on the city of Monemvasia, mentioning the lighthouse with houses around it, the draw-bridge on the causeway and the city-walls; Nicolaus Specialis, RIS, X, 959; Giacompo d'Oria, Annali Genovesi, V, 146; Muntaner, ed., J.A.C. Buchon, Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1841), 330; Sanudo, Chroniques Gréco-Romanes, 133; Laiou, "Εμποροι", 10-11; Laiou, Andronicus, 46-47; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 89-90; Miller, Monemvasia, 235-36; Calogeras, Βενετία, 58-59, mentions a local tradition connected with de Lluria's attack and the ruins in the northern tip of the rock, called "Λειψωνιάς".

is illustrated by a series of documents, which Andronikos II dedicated to the ecclesiastical See of Monemvasia. The first had been already issued in 1291-92, and was dedicated to the elevation of Monemvasia from the rank of a simple bishopric, under the metropolitan of Corinth, to a metropolis.¹ In June 1301 a luxurious chrysobull was produced giving the See the coveted rank of the historic metropolis of Side and other privileges. Another chrysobull followed confirming the possession by the metropolis of a rich property.

The long prooimion of the chrysobull of June 1301 is impressive, covering almost half the length of the document. It does not start, as one would have expected with praises to the church and the prelate who received the extraordinary honours that the chrysobull granted. It is dedicated by the Emperor to the "renowned city", "τό περιώνυμον ἄστυ", and constitutes an encomium to Monemvasia, its inhabitants, their achievements at sea and their activities which emanated from the sea.²

¹ Below, chapter 6 V on manuscripts, editions and bibliography.

² Binon, *EO*, 37, pp. 306, ll. 14-16, 18-32, 23-29. Cf. Pachymères, *Bonn*, II, 504: "τῶν...Μονεμβασιω-
τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν δουλευτῶν".

Whereas the name is fairly new...it provokes countless and prolonged praises from everywhere...Because, apart from the rest, the city is adorned by favourable situation and for safety a fortified position and a great number of inhabitants and great wealth and a noble administration and every lavishness of crafts by all and (is) extremely proficient in commerce and furthermore well situated for sailing the sea to any place anywhere...A large number of the inhabitants (is) sea-worthy and working at sea, and has vigour and an active and practical spirit; and what is indeed best of all is their active and wholly unshakable goodwill towards the Empire and their relation and concern towards the race (ἔθνος), unchanged by times and circumstances, good or bad, which has been tried many times in the past, guaranteeing the unmovable and constant faithfulness...

The text emphasizes the active and constant support that the Monemvasiotēs offered to the Empire and the guarantees for their unchanging attitude in the future. During the last years of the 13th century Byzantium was being threatened from every where. One of the most serious threats was presented by the war between the Genoese and the Venetians, which developed into an open clash between Venice and Byzantium. Their old allies forsook the Byzantines signing a treaty of eternal peace with the Genoese. The Venetians found themselves with their fleet destroyed but the Byzantines were in a still worse condition, since their own fleet had been disbanded and their ships were rotting in the Golden Horn.

In the meantime the Emperor had gone to Thessaloniki since the beginning of spring 1299, for the wedding of his five-year old daughter Simonis to the King of Serbia Milutin. Andronikos remained far from the Capital for more than a year. The existing sources give no information about his movements and activities after his daughter's wedding and until his return to Constantinople, with the exception of his attempt to regain Demetrias in Thessaly. Some time after his return to the Capital, in 1302, a ten year truce was signed with the Venetians ending their dispute.¹ Curiously the sources mention the existence of a fleet on both the Byzantine and Venetian sides. For the Venetians it could be maintained that some ships had escaped from the destruction of the fleet during the war with the Genoese, but it is not easy to understand where the Byzantines found their ships, since the sources unanimously attest the disbanding of the fleet.² One possible explanation for their existence could be the use of an existing independent force, as was the case earlier in the time of Michael VIII and later with

¹ Pachymeres, Bonn, II, 276-86, 291-98; Gregoras, Schopen, I, 202-04; Laiou, Andronicus, 96-112; Nicol, 1261-1453, 118-19, 126-27; Ostrogorski, History, 489-91.

² Laiou, Andronicus, 108-10; cf. F. Thiriet, Délibérations des Assemblées Vénitiennes concernant la Romagne, I (Paris, 1966), nos. 10, 13, 16, 28, 50, 62, 72, 73.

the Catalan force. At the end of the 13th century it looks as if Monemvasia was in a possession of such a force. The praises in the chrysobull of June 1301, so different from the formal phraseology of the document of 1284, seem to have been provoked by the substantial assistance of the Monemvasiotes towards the emperor during the difficult period of the strife with the Venetians, in exchange for various privileges.

Concerning the activities of Andronikos during these years, particularly between his stay in Thessaloniki for the marriage of his daughter and his return to Constantinople, there is some information in a 16th century synaxarion containing a mass offered to the miraculous icon of "Panaghia Monemvasiotissa". According to the synaxarion the Emperor himself had offered this icon to the citizens of Monemvasia, after a tour to the Peloponnese in the year 1300, "to visit his peoples there". During his tour he made many "benefactions", particularly to the citizens of Monemvasia who insisted that he should prolong his stay in their city. To console them, he sent from Constantinople a precious and miraculous icon of the Hodhighitria, which took the name of Monemvasiotissa.¹

¹ N. Katrames, Φιλολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐκ Ζακύνθου (Zante, 1880), 188; N.A. Bees, "Παναγία ἡ Μονεμβασιώτισσα," Ἑφημερίς Πρωΐα, 20, IX, 1942, who believes that it refers to an exile of Andronikos, but produces no evidence. Cf. Calogeras, Μονεμβασία, 67-68 on the exile and 23-25 on the icon, which had been transferred to the Ionian islands.

The information about the visit of Andronikos to the Peloponnese in 1300 is not referred to in any other source. But there is no reason why it should be rejected. On the contrary there are some indications supporting the evidence that a tour in the Peloponnese and a visit to Monemvasia did take place; the attempt to regain Demetrias, which might indicate a move towards the South;¹ the signing of a peace treaty in 1299 with the Franks and the exchange of prisoners;² the exchange of prisoners with the Venetians;³ possibly an administrative reorganization of the Morea;⁴ the ecclesiastical reorganization which followed the return to Constantinople;⁵ finally the impressive grants to Monemvasia. Most probably all these actions are related with a visit by the Emperor to the most promising province of the Empire, which gave him the opportunity to perceive personally the local needs and possibilities.

¹ Laiou, Andronikos, 99.

² Bon, Morée, 173.

³ Laiou, Andronikos, 109.

⁴ Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 69, 329; Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 27-30.

⁵ J. Darrouzès, Les Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, I, fasc. V, nos. 1576, 1678; J. Darrouzès, Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (Paris, 1981), pp. 171, 183. Cf. Ps. Dorotheos, 400.

It is possible therefore that between Easter 1299 and Spring 1300, Andronikos II visited Monemvasia and that he came to an agreement with the Monemvasiotes for naval assistance.¹ The Monemvasiotes would offer their ships in exchange for "benefactions" as the synaxarion of Panaghia Monemvasiotissa calls them, which Andronikos would grant. We might assume that these were not limited to the church of Monemvasia only, stated in the known documents, and the donation of a precious icon, stated in the synaxarion, but extended to the city as well.

It looks indeed as if a further document to the city of Monemvasia had been issued during Andronikos's absence from the capital between 1299 and 1300, by his son Michael IX, who was co-Emperor since 1294 and had remained in Constantinople. Michael is mentioned along with his father and his grandfather as having granted documents to the city of Monemvasia, in a later chrysobull of 1336.² The existence of an imperial document preceding the chrysobull of 1336, following that of 1284, is proved by the comparison of the two sets of privileges. Those enumerated by the 1336 bull as pre-existing do not coincide with those granted in 1284.

¹ Andronikos must have been back by April 1300, when he issued a prostagma for Monemvasia, below 6 IV.

² On the chrysobull of 1336 below 4 II.

The privileges mentioned in 1336 are more numerous and extensive. The differences must be due to the document issued by Michael IX. It has been stated already that the privileges granted in 1284 were *exkousseia* and *eleutheria*, exemption under certain conditions from death duties and exemption from the *kommerkion* for all transactions in the city of Monemvasia. But as stated in the chrysobull of 1336, the privileges that existed before its issue were, apart from *exkousseia* and *eleutheria*, exemption from the *kommerkion* in the whole Empire, except Constantinople and the ports of Thrace, Selymbria, Herakleia, Raidestos and Kallipolis, where a mere 2% was levied. These were, precisely, the privileges granted by Michael IX to the Monemvasiotes.¹

We may assume that, in exchange, the Monemvasiotes undertook the obligation to supply ships and men according to the Empire's needs and to intervene in the name of the Emperor, if necessary. To this cause could be attributed their attack against the Venetian ship which carried orders for the occupation of the

¹ Between 1294 and 1299 Michael hardly issued any document, cf. Dölger, Regesten, nos 2613-2615. The first of these entries concerns letters, while the other two are of uncertain date and could belong to the years after 1305. The exemption from *kommerkion* in the whole of the Empire was perhaps granted for the first time to a Byzantine city with this document: Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 46.

island of Cos.¹ Also the fact that, when in 1303 the naval cooperation between Andronikos and the Catalans was agreed, the latter's first move was to go to Monemvasia, where they were welcomed and received the Emperor's orders and remained stationed for a short time.² Another incident may be relevant. In September 1304 one of the Catalan admirals, Berenguer d'Entença, offered to pay the Venetians for the supplies he had taken from a Venetian ship in Monemvasia if they followed him there, where it is possible that a pay-office for the navy was also installed.³

Some years later, possibly in 1314, one more chrysobull was issued for the metropolis of Monemvasia by Andronikos. In another chapter we shall examine in detail the problems concerning its dating and authenticity and all the literature about it and the famous forgers from Monemvasia. The chrysobull has a rare characteristic. It repeats almost identically, with certain differences the text of the chrysobull of

¹ Thiriet, Assemblées, I, no. 73, 98-99; Laiou, "Εμπόρις", 8. Cf. the mention of "Greek" fleets in 1318 referring to 1302, Laiou, Andronicus, 276.

² The Chronicle of Muntaner, trans. Lady Goode-nough (Hakluyt Society: London, 1921), II, 486 : September 1303, "...they landed in Monemvasia and there they found those who showed them great honour...And they found there an order to go straight to Constantinople..." Anaea, due to the advance of the Turks was not then used as a base: Laiou, Andronicus, 91-92.

³ Rubió y Lluch, D.O.C., no. 12, pp. 13-14.

June 1301. There are some differences in the bishoprics under the See and some privileges are given in addition to those given in 1301.¹ At the end of the document a long paragraph containing the "περιοδικός" or "περιγραφικός τύπος", the "circumscribing outline", has been added. It is a description of the area subordinate to the metropolis of Monemvasia, except for the regions of the bishoprics of Kythera and Zemena. The limits contain a huge part of the Peloponnese, a quarter of the peninsula. The plain of Sparta is carefully excluded. Large areas that previously were under the See of Patras are incorporated.² (Pl. 14-18)

During this time and some years later, when Andronikos Asen was governor of the Morea, the Byzantines attacked the Latin possessions and recaptured many of them, possibly Zemena among them, which must have been in Byzantine hands from before 1328 and is counted among Greek possessions in the above mentioned chrysobull.³ Andronikos Asen must not have been far from Androusa either, since lands in the region of

¹ The so-called "false chrysobull of 1293" :Dölger, Regesten, no. 2238; Binon, EO, 37, pp. 306-11. On the document below chapter 6 VI.

² On the circumscription below, 4 III.

³ NE, 12, (1915), 309.

Androusa were granted in 1312 to the monastery of Brontocheion at Mystras.¹

Apparently, as the limits of the area held by the Byzantines extended, the greedy Monemvasiotes kept asking for more grants for their help and the Emperor gave in. One of the reasons, consequently, for the issuing of the chrysobull of 1314 might have been to secure a large area by the addition of the circumscription, which extended the jurisdiction of Monemvasia over it. This should be considered as a reward for various contributions of the Monemvasiotes, like the subsidy of the much poorer metropolis of Lacedaemonia with the revenues of one of the bishoprics of Monemvasia.² Later, in 1324, the assistance of Monemvasia to the Patriarch of Constantinople was extremely generous, though not rewarded this time by a chrysobull: Monemvasia paid 800 hyperpyra or one fourth of the total of 3208 hyperpyra, collected by the 33 metropolitan Sees of the Empire.³ (Pl. 25)

¹ Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 196-297.

² Régestes du Patriarcat, nos. 1626, 1627. Cf. on the participation of Monemvasiotes in campaigns against the Latins, a letter of Gregory of Cyprus mentioned by V. Laurent, "La chronologie des Patriarches de Constantinople au XIIIe siècle (1208-1309)", REB, 27 (1969), 224 n. 65.

³ Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2119.

The spectacular economic development of Monemvasia during the reign of Andronikos II is even more impressive compared to the powerlessness and decay of the rest of the Empire. The dynamism of Monemvasia illustrates the possibilities offered by the sea trade during this period. The Monemvasiotes continuously amassed more and more privileges but they also continuously increased their activities. A growing interest in economic history has unveiled new material from the deeds of the Italian notaries and has also led to a reassessment of published sources. Important recent studies reveal an underestimated aspect of Byzantine economic life, the existence of a developed Byzantine trade between the 13th and the 15th centuries and the important part the Monemvasiotes played in it.¹ If for the 13th century the image is somewhat distorted, because their activities are mixed with acts of piracy, their presence as far as the Black Sea is remarkable.²

¹ Oikonomides, Hommes d'affaires, 87-92, 121, 124; Laiou, DOP, 34-35, pp. 190, 206-09.

² Laiou, "Εμποροι", 5-7, 12-13; Laiou, DOP, 34-35, p. 190; M. Balard, Gènes et l'outre-mer. I: Les actes Caffa de Lamberto di Sambuceto. 128-1290 (Paris-Hague, 1973), nos. 438, 529; G. Bertolotto, Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'impero bizantino (Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 28) (Genova, 1896), pp. 511-50 esp. 522-24; Morgan, Venetian claims commission, 411-38.

In the 14th century they are attested in a wide area in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, owning or chartering ships, undertaking long journeys, attacking indiscriminately both Genoese and Venetians and falling victims themselves to the violence of the Italians.¹

In commercial activities it is not only the Monemvasiotes still resident in Monemvasia who were involved but also those who had emigrated, particularly those who had settled in Pegai in Asia Minor after the Frankish conquest of Monemvasia, and those in Constantinople. It is interesting to examine the case of the Monemvasiotes of Pegai. They had emigrated to Pegai at circa 1253, as we saw, in considerable numbers under their archon. There they remained as an independent group, which was not assimilated by the local inhabitants, and developed commercial activities similar to those of the inhabitants of their "metropolis". Andronikos II had also granted privileges to them, with a prostagma and a chrysobull. The date that these documents were issued is unknown because only a mention has survived in a later document, where

¹ G.M. Thomas R. Predelli, Diplomatarium Veneto-Levaninum, I (Venice, 1880), nos. 73-79, 88, 126-27; Bertolotto, 511, 526, 532; G. Giomo, Lettere segrete del Collegio, rectius Minor Consiglio (Venice, 1910) nos. 390, 395; Laiou, "Εμποροι", 9-12, 15-17; Laiou, The Greek merchant, 100, 102-03, 113-14; Oikonomides, Hommes d'affaires, 87-88.

the privileges granted by Andronikos II are stated. These were exemption from kommerkion in all cities of the empire except Constantinople and certain cities in Thrace, where the Monemvasiotes of Pegai had the obligation to pay 2%. It is evident that these grants are similar to those which Michael IX had granted to the Monemvasiotes of Monemvasia with the lost document issued in 1299-1300. One could suppose that the Monemvasiotes of Pegai, trading as those of Monemvasia, hurried to demand similar exemptions when Michael's document was issued.¹

II . The Chrysobull in the Chronicon Maius

In the text of the Chronicon Maius a chrysobull has been incorporated by the author, Macarios Melissenos, who calls it "privilege of the "πολιτεία" of the Monemvasiotes" and attributes it to Andronikos the Young. This chrysobull has been the object of long dispute concerning its authenticity. The reason was that, whereas it is attributed to Andronikos III, the signature under it is that used by Andronikos II and it bears the date 1316, before Andronikos III was

¹ Mentioned in the prostagma issued by Andronikos III for the Monemvasiotes of Pegai in 1328: Schreiner, Prostagma, 207. On the Monemvasiotes of Herakleia: Ελληνικά, 2 (1932), 125 n.2; Laiou, "Εμποροι", 14.

associated to the throne.¹

The decisive view for the prevailing opinion concerning the authenticity of the chrysobull was that of Franz Dölger, who had originally accepted it as genuine along with other documents about which he later changed his mind, attributing it to Andronikos III and dating it in 1336. Later, however, he attributed it to Andronikos II, expressing doubts as to its authenticity. Thus the chrysobull was condemned to be considered a forgery since, apart from Dölger's doubts, it is stated in the text that the Emperor who issued it granted for the first time privileges to Monemvasia, which is incompatible with the fact that Andronikos II had already issued before 1316 at least four such documents.²

The final blow against its authenticity was the discovery by Peter Schreiner of the prostagma for the Monemvasiotes of Pegai, issued in 1328 by Andronikos III. Apparently the documents issued for them by Andronikos II had not been sufficient, some port

¹ Dölger, Regesten, no. 2383; Ps. Phrantzes, Grecu, 538-42.

² Dölger, Regesten, no. 2383; F. Dölger, Facsimiles byzantinischen Kaiserurkunden (Munich, 1931), no. 34; Dölger, BZ, 34 (1934), 126; Miller, Monemvasia, 235; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 83-84, 333.

authorities refusing to accept the exemptions. Consequently in 1328, immediately after his accession, they asked from Andronikos III for a new document, which would enforce their rights. As a matter of fact they asked for each one of the taxes from which they were exempted to be stated separately. The new Emperor issued indeed a prostagma in August 1328 in accordance with their petition. This document is precious not only because it reveals their activities, which matched those of the Monemvasiotes of Monemvasia, but also because it allows the comparison of their privileges to those of the inhabitants of Monemvasia as they are expressed in the chrysobull incorporated in the *Chronicon Maius*. For Schreiner, however, the impressive similarity of parts of the two texts is the conclusive proof against the genuineness of the chrysobull for Monemvasia. He considers that it is a fabrication of the author of the *Chronicon Maius*, Marcarios Melissenos, who used the text of the prostagma of 1328 as a model to fabricate the forged document. Schreiner goes even further expressing doubts about the authenticity of all documents with imperial privileges concerning Monemvasia.¹

¹ Schreiner, *Prostagma*, 215 and passim. In the same article, pp. 214-25 he presents a new edition of the "false" chrysobull with a German translation and commentary.

It is beyond doubt that the chrysobull incorporated in the Chronicon Maius poses many difficult questions. The view, however, that it is a forgery, particularly using the prostagma for Pegai as a model, is unconvincing.¹

A first general remark about the chrysobull in the Chronicon Maius is that it has all the characteristics of an official copy of a chrysobull of the time of Andronikos III, with the exception of the signature. The word *logos* appears three times within the text in the sequence of *λόγον, λόγου, λόγος*; at the end there is the formal phrase "*ἐν ᾧ καὶ τό ἡμέτερον* etc " as in the chrysobulls. The date at the end of the document is not written out in full but in numerals and is followed by the phrase which proves that it was an official copy, as in all official copies.² As in the chrysobulls by Andronikos III there is no

¹ Schreiner's views have not been universally accepted and many scholars consider the document as based on an authentic chrysobull, e.g. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 88; Laiou, *DOP*, 34-35, pp. 206-07. Cf. Ostrogorski, *History*, 497 n. 3.

² F. Dölger-J. Karayannopoulos, *Βυζαντινὴ Διπλωματική* (Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται, 4) (Thessaloniki, 1972), pp. 117, 132, 243-46, 255-58; Dölger, *BZ*, 34 (1934), 126. On the imperial documents in general: N. Oikonomides, *Chancellerie*, 167-95.

prooimion.¹ There is only one inconsistency: it bears a signature, that of Andronikos II, whereas being a copy of a chrysobullos logos, it should have no signature at all.²

Consequently considering the formal characteristics there would be no reason to consider the chrysobull as forged because it is absolutely compatible with copies of other chrysoboulloi logoi of Andronikos III, if only it could have been proven that the signature of Andronikos II has been added later and does not belong to the original document.

Supposing that the text in the Chronicon Maius was transcribed from a genuine official copy of a chrysobull of Andronikos III, to which the imperial signature was added later, we will proceed to its analysis, as regards to its contents, by dividing it into sections and examining them separately, comparing them with the respective sections of the prostagma for the Monemvasiotes of Pegai.³

¹ As, indeed, most documents after Andronikos II: Dölger-Karayannopoulos, 130.

² Dölger-Karayannopoulos, 255.

³ References for the prostagma are from Schreiner, Prostagma. His edition of the chrysobull presents certain differences from Ps. Phrantzes, Grecu, 538-42, which will be used for reference here.

I. CHR 538, 35-40

The chrysobull begins with the reference to pre-existing privileges. They had been granted by the deceased Emperors, the father, the grandfather and the great-grandfather of the Emperor issuing the document to the Monemvasiotes of Monemvasia and also to those from Pegai who were settled in Constantinople or elsewhere.¹

PRO 1-3

The prostagma mentions as the only Emperor who had granted privileges to the Monemvasiotes of Pegai Andronikos II.

II. CHR 538, 40-42 and 540, 1-4

According to these privileges the Monemvasiotes were totally exempted from payment of kommerkion in the whole Empire, except Constantinople and certain cities of Thrace, Selymbria, Herakleia, Raideustos, Kallioupolis, where they had the obligation of paying 2%.

PRO 3-9

The privileges mentioned in the prostagma are

¹ At this point the document by Michael IX is mentioned, the existence of which is confirmed by the comparison of the respective privileges between earlier and later documents. It is interesting to note that the chrysobull refers to the Monemvasiotes from Pegai and not, as the prostagma, of Pegai. This is a subtlety, which could only make sense at its time and which escaped Schreiner and makes the assumption of forgery improbable.

identical.¹

III. CHR 540, 4-7

The Monemvasiotes asked the Emperor, who always has the intention to show his beneficence towards those who apply to him, to renew their old privileges.

PRO 9-10

On the other hand the Monemvasiotes of Pegai in 1328 had asked for something completely different. An explanatory document which would enumerate all the taxes from which they were exempted.²

IV. CHR 540, 7-30

The Emperor enumerates his own, new, grants which, he states with emphasis, concern the Monemvasiotes of Monemvasia as well as the Monemvasiotes from Pegai, wherever they may have settled, either in Constantinople or elsewhere: according to what they have been granted by previous imperial documents, to continue to enjoy either *exkousseia* or *defendeusis*. Regardless of who enjoyed *exkousseia* and who did not, the Emperor granted all Monemvasiotes indiscriminately the privilege to pay

¹ Laiou, DOP (34-35), p. 207 . Cf. Pegolotti, La practica de la mercatura, 42 : "in Rudistio é il migliore grano di Romania".

² "τάς τοιαύτας ἀπαιτήσεις καί δόσεις κατ'ὄνομα διαλαμβάνοντος"

to the kommerkion of Constantinople for import as well as for export a 1% tax on the following products: wheat and wine, whatever the place of origin was, skins or hides, textiles, linseed, woollen fabrics, livestock or any other article. Furthermore they were not to be disturbed by any official during their transactions concerning all these products. He finally exempted them from the obligation to pay a whole series of particular duties, which are the following: καμπανιστικόν,¹ μεσιτικόν,² ζυγαστικόν,³ μετρητικόν,⁴ μετριάτικόν,⁵ παχιατικόν,⁶ γομαριατικόν,⁷ ὀψώνιον,⁸

¹ Schreiner, Protagma, 208 n. 19, 218 n. 30.

² Only mentioned in the chrysobull and the protagma, Schreiner, Protagma, 208 n.19.

³ Schreiner, Protagma, 218 n. 30.

⁴ Schreiner, Protagma, 208 n. 19.

⁵ Schreiner, Protagma, 218 n. 30.

⁶ Schreiner, Protagma, 218 n. 30 and Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 137.

⁷ Only mentioned in the chrysobull, Schreiner, Protagma, 218 n. 30. Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 243 and n. 4.

⁸ Schreiner, Protagma, 208 n. 19.

σκαλιατικόν,¹ βιγλιατικόν,² δεκατία,³ ἀλιευτική
 τετραμοιρία,⁴ ξυλάχυρον,⁵ ὀρεινή τῆς ἐνιάδος ὡς
 τὰς εἰς αὐτοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀπάσας σκάλας,⁶ καστρο-
 κτισία,⁷ κατεργοκτισία,⁸ μαγειρία,⁹ ἀντίναυλον,¹⁰
 ἔξωπρασία,¹¹ κοσμιατικόν,¹² καπηλιατικόν,¹³ μηνυα-
 τικόν,¹⁴ ἐργαστηριακόν,¹⁵ μεταξιατικόν,¹⁶ ἀπαί-

¹ Schreiner, Protagma, 208 n. 19.

² Schreiner, Protagma, 219 n. 31.

³ H.F. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," JÖBG, 6 (1957), 45-110; Schreiner, Protagma, 208 n. 19.

⁴ Schreiner, Protagma, 208 n. 21, 219 n. 31.

⁵ Schreiner, Protagma, 219, n. 32; E. Schilbach, Byzantinische Metrologie (Munich, 1970), p. 156.

⁶ This mention makes no sense and it cannot be understood if it represents a duty or it is misplaced.

⁷ S. Trojanos, "Καστροκτισία. Einige Bemerkungen über die finanziellen Grundlagen des Festungsbaues im byzantinischen Reich," Βυζαντινά 1 (1969), 39-57; Schreiner, Protagma, 208-09 n. 21.

⁸ Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 13, 173; Schreiner, Protagma, 219 n. 33.

⁹ Schreiner, Protagma, 208-09 n. 21.

¹⁰ Schreiner, Protagma, 208-09 n. 21.

¹¹ Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 36; Schreiner, Protagma, 219 n. 33. Only mentioned in the chrysobull.

¹² Schreiner, Protagma, 219 n. 33, cf. 208-09 n. 21.

¹³ Schreiner, Protagma, 220 n. 34.

¹⁴ Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 136, Schreiner, Protagma, 220 n. 34.

¹⁵ Schreiner, Protagma, 220 n. 34.

¹⁶ Schreiner, Protagma, 220 n. 34.

τησις τοῦ πανίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ φόρῳ πωλουμένου,¹ κεφάλαιον τοῦ σιταρίου τοῦ εἰσαποταχθέντος ἀπαιτεῖσθαι παρά τῶν караβίων.² They were also exempted from any other similar tax, whether existing or which might be introduced in the future. Of the taxes mentioned some are not known from any other source. Most are closely connected to the commercial and marine activities of the Monemvasiotes, like the metriatikon, a tax on wine and olive oil or the alieutike tetramoiria and the katèrgoktisia connected with fishing and ship-building. This section of the chrysobull closes with the statement that the Monemvasiotes are exempted from taxes which may not have been mentioned in this document or may be imposed in the future.

PRO 11-26

The prostagma shows many differences. The most important is the lack of any mention of the immunity, the exkousseia, among their privileges. What it does mention is defendeusis, exemption from kommerkion and possibly other taxes, which is not identical to exkousseia. Another very important difference is that it simply reitera-

¹ Only mentioned in the chrysobull: Schreiner, Prostagma, 220 n. 34, who cannot understand its meaning. He thinks it might be a tax on textiles. One wonders if it is not connected with naval activities like the ἀπαίτησις τῶν ἀρμενοπάνων: Ahrweiler, Mer, 212. Textile production was in decline in the Morea at this period: Laiou, DOP, 34-35, p. 187.

² Schreiner, Prostagma, 221 n. 35. Only mentioned in the chrysobull.

tes the older privileges without granting any new exemptions: 2% in Constantinople and the ports of Thrace. The products transported by the Monemvasiotes of Pegai were the same as those transported by those of Monemvasia. A series of 13 taxes are mentioned as compared to the 28 mentioned in the chrysobull.¹ Finally there is no mention of future exemptions.²

V. CHR 540, 31-34

cf. Venice 1176
The exemption from the kommerkion covered also those who dealt with the Monemvasiotes, whether they bought from or sold to them their products, produce or livestock, whether in Constantinople or elsewhere in the Empire, due to the privilege of defendeusis which Monemvasiotes had.

PRO 23-26

At this point, which is common to both documents, we find an explanation of the privilege of defendeusis. One can imagine how spectacularly this privilege gave the Monemvasiotes the possibility

¹ The following are not mentioned in the prostagma: ζυγαστικόν, μετριατικόν, παχιατικόν, γομαριατικόν, βιγλιατικόν, αλιευτική τετραμοιρία, όρεινή etc, κατεργοκτισία, έξωπρασία, κοσματικόν, καπηλιατικόν, μηνυατικόν, εργαστηριακόν, μεταξιατικόν, άπαίτησις τοῦ πανίου etc, κεφάλαιον τοῦ σιταρίου. The chrysobull omits the following: μοδιατικόν, τετραμοιρία and possibly όρική (όρεινή?) and κορμιατικόν (κοσματικόν?).

² At this point the comments by Schreiner, Prostagma, 212 n. 36 are rather arbitrary.

to augment their transactions. Their tax-free products must have been in great demand in the market.¹

VI. CHR 540, 34-39

When the Monemvasiotes transported by ship merchandise from the Black Sea or from the Aegean or from the Gulfs around Constantinople, wheat or wine or anything else, they were allowed to settle their economic obligations in Constantinople as defined above.²

PRO 26-31

This section is also found in the prostagma. This arrangement may have been provided by both documents in order to avoid friction with the officials concerning the privileges and exemptions of the Monemvasiotes. On the other hand it diverted directly into the imperial coffers large amounts of money.

VII. CHR 540, 39-41

The Monemvasiotes who owned ships were exempted from tetramoiria and similar taxes, thanks to

¹ On all the taxes mentioned in the chrysobull: Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 243. Cf. Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 135-37.

² Oikonomides, Hommes d'affaires, 87-91.

the privilege of *exkousseia* that they enjoyed. From the text it is not clear whether *exkousseia* enjoyed by the ship-owners was part of the general privilege of *exkousseia* granted to Monemvasia or whether it was a separate privilege granted to the ship-owners. In any case this section is another proof of how important the Emperor considered the naval cooperation with the Monemvasiotes.¹

PRO 31-32

The *prostagma* simply refers to the *anenchlesia* of the ship-owners but not the *exkousseia*. This should be considered another indication that the immunity concerned only the Monemvasiotes of Monemvasia.

VIII. CHR 540, 41-44 and 542, 1-3

When transporting either merchandise from the West to the East and vice versa or livestock and other merchandise from Bulgaria to the ports of Sozopolis, Agathopolis, Midia and other cities of the Empire, they are not to be disturbed by the governors, the *kephalai*, of the towns or by the officials for any demand of *kommerkion*, *diavatikon* or *poriatikon*. These ports of

¹ G. Rouillard, "Les taxes maritimes et commerciales d'après les actes de Patmos et de Lavra," *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, I (Paris, 1930), pp. 277-80; Schreiner, *Prostagma*, 210; Ostrogorski, *Immunité*, 208.

Bulgaria had been recovered in 1331 by the Byzantines and presumably legal arrangement was necessary concerning trading in the area.¹

PRO 32-35

The context of the prostagma differs at this point. The Monemvasiotes of Pegai were totally exempted from paying the kommerkion in the ports of Thrace only when they were in transit and did not carry out any transactions. It does not mention at all the three ports of Bulgaria.

IX. CHR 542, 3-9

For all commercial transactions carried out where-soever, whether in the East or the West whether in the islands or the mainland, whether in the towns or the fairs or anywhere else and whether the merchandise is produce or anything else, as well as in the fairs of the Peloponnese, in all her cities and towns, the Monemvasiotes should remain undisturbed from any demands for taxes and particularly from any demand for kommerkion

¹ The comma after διενεργούντων should be corrected to a full stop, to allow the text have its full meaning. This copying mistake of Macarios Melissenos was not corrected either by Grecu or by Schreiner. On διαβατικόν and πορτατικόν: Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 123, 134; Schreiner, Prostagma, 211 n. 39 and 40; Rouillard, Taxes, 284. The geographical consistency in this section points against the forgery, cf. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, 263.

poriatikon.¹

PRO 35-40

The prostagma does not mention the Peloponnese. Evidently the Monemvasiotes of Pegai did not trade in the vicinity of their native city, whereas the Peloponnese was very important for the merchants operating from Monemvasia.²

X. CHR 542, 10-18

Consequently the officials of the kommerkion in Constantinople as well as the various ports, cities and towns of the Empire, should observe this anenochlesia and defendeusia of the Monemvasiotes. Similarly they, who have the administration of lands, domains and fortresses by imperial order, whether these belong to the Empress or the son of the Emperor or to relatives or other archons or archontopouloi, should make no demand for magaireia or opsonion or any other obligation.³

¹ Here the full stop after τόποις should be changed to comma.

² On the areas of activity of the Monemvasiotes: Laiou, "Εμποροι, 12-13; Oikonomides, Hommes d'affaires, 86-91; Schreiner, Prostagma, 212-14.

³ On ports, σκάλαι: Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 135; Schreiner, Prostagma, 209; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 237; Ahrweiler, L'escale; Rouillard. Taxes, 282-83. On archontopouloi, Thiriet, Romanie, 293-94. On μαγειρεία and ὀψώνιον: Schreiner, Prostagma, 208; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 237.

PRO 40-48

In the prostagma there is a similar section, which however does not mention wife and son of the Emperor but his mother and uncles and cousins.

XI. CHR 542, 18-24

Those who in the future will hold the relevant posts in Constantinople are ordered not to make any demand from the Monemvasiotes for either *epereia*, *mageireia* or *opsonion* nor to include them among the other inhabitants of the city for the *koinofeleis synkroteseis*. Furthermore their cases will be brought before the *sekreton* of the Emperor and not the city authorities.¹

PRO 48-55

In the prostagma this section is almost identical word for word. The privileged position of all Monemvasiotes regardless of origin remained unaltered.

XII. CHR 542, 24-28

The descendants too of the Monemvasiotes were to benefit from the privileges granted by the *chryso-bull* for as long as their race existed. The

¹ On *ἐπήρεια*: Rouillard, *Taxes*, 284; Zakythinos, *Despotat*, II, 236-37. On *κοινοφελείς συγκροτήσεις*: Schreiner, *Prostagma*, 212. On *σέκρετον*: Schreiner, *Prostagma*, 212-13.

prostagma makes no such provision.

XIII. CHR 542, 28-35

The chrysobull closes with the usual formalities and the date. In separate paragraphs follow the Emperor's signature and a sentence stating that this is an official copy of the document.

PRO 55-63

The prostagma too closes with corresponding formalities which are elaborate and perhaps hard to understand, omitting of course, the Emperor's signature.¹

The analysis of the chrysobull and its comparison to the prostagma revealed some similarities but many important differences. One important difference concerns the kind of privileges mentioned. The privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of Monemvasia were not identical with those enjoyed by the Monemvasiotes of Pegai. The most important privilege of the Monemvasiotes of Monemvasia, the exkousseia, is not granted to the Monemvasiotes of Pegai. Indeed the chrysobull distinguishes between those who enjoy and those who do not enjoy it : Section IV. Exkousseia is also mentioned

¹ On this clause of undoubted authenticity: Schreiner, Prostagma, 212-14; On the differences between chrysobull and prostagma, Oikonomides, Chancellerie, 190-193.

for the ship-owners from Monemvasia, a privilege which the ship-owners from Pegai did not enjoy : Section VII . In another point the chrysobull abolishes the kommerkion in the cities of Thrace and lowers it in Constantinople, whereas the prostagma simply renews previous privileges : Section IV . Furthermore there is a reference to trade with Bulgaria and the Peloponnese, which the prostagma omits : Section VIII . A series of taxes from which the Monemvasiotes are exempted by the chrysobull are not mentioned in the prostagma : Section IV . Finally the chrysobull twice provides that the Monemvasiotes will enjoy their exemptions in the future, in perpetuity, whereas the prostagma makes no such assurance : Sections IV and XII .

The two documents also show many marked differences concerning their respective chronology, showing that they are separated by an interval of some years during which many things have changed, the Emperor's family status, the situation in Asia Minor with the capture of Pegai by the Türks and its desertion by the Monemvasiote community and the occupation of certain ports of Bulgaria by the Byzantines.

It has been shown that the differences between the chrysobull and the prostagma are substantial. Let us now examine the problems arising from their similarities. The fact that a byzantine document has

common sections with another is not necessarily an argument against its authenticity. If it were so, few byzantine documents would remain beyond suspicion. On the contrary it is quite common for imperial documents to repeat and incorporate in their text parts of earlier relevant documents. This is the case with the chrysobull of 1284 for Monemvasia, which incorporates part of the text of the chrysobull of Michael VIII.¹ It seems improbable that the chrysobull and the prostagma are directly connected. Rather, the similarities between the two could be due to the fact that both have incorporated parts of a common earlier document. Concerning the chrysobull the prototype could not have been the chrysobull of 1284, which granted limited privileges, but could have been the lost document granted by Michael IX, which, as we saw, stated in detail the numerous privileges and exemptions. For the prostagma of 1328 the previous documents concerning Pegai may have been used but, since they were not very detailed, as the prostagma states, it is quite possible that the lost document of Michael IX for Monemvasia formed the basis of the minute enumeration of privileges. This would mean that the common prototype for both the chrysobull and the prostagma was the lost document of Michael IX.

¹ There are innumerable documents of this kind. A few examples are mentioned at random such as Dölger, Regesten, no. 1992 of 1272 renewing privileges by Justinian and Basil II for the church of Ohrid; Dölger, Regesten, no. 2031 of 1277 for Hilandar, renewing privileges by Alexios III and Nemanja; nos. 1810, 1850, 2058, 2130, 2803, for Kroai. Cf. Oikonomides, *Chancellerie*, 175.

We will examine now if the historical information given by the chrysobull can help its dating and whether the issuing of a chrysobull by Andronikos III for the Monemvasiotes is justified by the historical situation at this date. The indications offered, with the exception of the date and signature are:

-The Emperor issuing the chrysoboullos logos grants privileges to Monemvasia for the first time. Consequently it can not be Andronikos II.¹

-It is stated in the bull that the privileges had been granted by the father, the grandfather and the great-grandfather of the Emperor, none of whom are still alive. So the Emperor must be Andronikos III and the document must date after 13 February 1332, when his grandfather died.²

-Monemvasiotes of Pegai are never mentioned as inhabiting Pegai but as having emigrated to Constantinople or elsewhere, which means that they must have abandoned Pegai. Consequently the document must be dated after the capture of Pegai by the Turks which is placed in the decade 1330-1340.³

¹ Usually his older documents are mentioned by the issuing emperor, e.g. in the chrysobull of June 1301 Andronikos II mentions his prostagma of April 1300 (προθεσπίσασα): Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 308, l. 101.

² On the date of death of Andronikos II: Papadopoulos, Versuch, 35; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, 227. On the death of Michael IX: Papadopoulos, Versuch, 37; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, 227. On the death of Michael VIII above p.189.

³ Schreiner, Prostagma, 204.

-The Byzantines have recaptured some ports of Bulgaria. Consequently the document must have been issued after spring 1331.¹

-The Emperor's mother has died, since she is not mentioned in the chrysobull as in the prostagma of 1328. Maria-Rita of Armenia died in 1333.²

-The Emperor has married and has a son. John was born on 18 June 1332.³

-The prostagma mentions lands belonging to relatives of the Emperor, which are omitted in the chrysobull. Possibly this is because they were situated in Asia Minor most of which had been occupied by the Turks after 1330.⁴

So we see that all the historical evidence given by the chrysobull shows a marked consistency and leads to the dating of the document in the years between

¹ Occupied by Andronikos II in 1331, reconquered by the Bulgars in 1344: REB, 22 (1964), 228; Nicol, 1261-1453, 180; Schreiner, Prostagma, 222. On Andronikos III and the Bulgars: U.V. Bosch, Andronikos III Palaiologos. Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321-1341 (Amsterdam, 1965) pp. 53-82.

² Papadopoulos, Versuch, 36, 43.

³ Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, 242.

⁴ Schreiner, Prostagma, 204; Nicol, 1261-1453, 175-76.

1333 and 1341, when Andronikos III died.¹

Before examining if the circumstances justified the issuing of a new chrysobull for the Monemvasiotes, it is worthwhile to repeat that the exceptional privileges granted to them by Andronikos II between 1299 and 1301 seem to have been prompted not only by the initiative of the Monemvasiotes themselves and the Emperor's goodwill, but also by important political reasons like the effort to limit the activities of the two Italian naval cities. During the reign of Andronikos III, in the years 1335-1336 the relations between Byzantium and the Genoese were severely disturbed after the capture of Lesbos by Benedetto Zaccaria and one could connect the new grants to the Monemvasiotes with these difficulties.²

So far the contents of the chrysobull show absolute consistency and are in perfect harmony with the historical context of the year 1336, proposed initially by Dölger, with the exception of the date and signature as quoted in the *Chronicon Maius*. For the date

¹ The death of Maria-Rita of Armenia is chronologically the last indication offered by the contents of the chrysobull.

² Nicol, 1261-1453, 179-80; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, 246-47.

Dölger has already observed that by substituting the letter κ with μ , a common mistake in the text of Macarios Melissenos, and with a slight correction of the indictio, from $\iota\epsilon$ to ϵ , the date becomes November 6825 indictio 5, which corresponds to November 1336, a perfectly acceptable date during the reign of Andronikos III.¹

The factor which more than any other makes the authenticity of the chrysobull questionable is the existence of the full signature of Andronikos II, in the form used before 1316. If, however, as we supposed, the document described was a genuine official copy of a chrysobull, and it has all the necessary characteristics of one, then it should not have had any signature at all. The document indeed concerned several separate groups, at least two communities, in Monemvasia and Constantinople, and merchants scattered in various ports of the Empire, and presumably several official copies must have been issued for them.²

¹ Dölger *BZ*, 34 (1934), 127. The κ instead of μ appears again in the text of the chrysobull in $\epsilon\kappa\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ instead of $\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$: Grecu, 540, l. 16.

² Cf. Schreiner, *Prostagma*, 213-14.

Consequently it is quite possible that in Monemvasia there was one such copy bearing no signature, and not the original, which would have borne it. When Macarios Melissenos was compiling his material for the *Chronicon Maius*, he found in the Archives of Monemvasia the three chrysobulls of Andronikos II, which all bore his full signature and this one document, which was known in his time as emanating from Andronikos the Young, as he mentions, which bore no signature at all. Perhaps Macarios hoped to add to the prestige of the document if he completed it with the imperial signature. But in Monemvasia no other document of Andronikos III existed. In his simplicity Macarios Melissenos may have believed that Andronikos the Young used the same signature as his homonymous grandfather and copied at the end of the chrysobull the full signature of Andronikos II, causing a tremendous confusion in our time.¹ This, however, apart from copying mistakes and misreadings seems to be the only intervention of the author of the *Chronicon Maius* with the text.²

¹ One chrysobull of 1284, one of June 1301, one of 1301 or 1302 and one of, probably, 1314. For the last three see below chapter 6 V and VI.

² Schreiner, *Prostagma*, 217-55, lists the corruptions. One should note, however, in the same spirit as Schreiner, that certain forms used in the *prostagma* are not totally correct as he interprets them, e.g. l. 23 the $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ which he changed to $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, or the omission of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in l. 14, or the $\omicron\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$ in l. 41. One should not for that reason conclude that the *prostagma* was a forgery. It is not by chance that Dölger with his experience had originally accepted the authenticity of the chrysobull.

The fabrication of a chrysoboullos logos based on the prostagma for Pegai presupposes extraordinary knowledge and abilities by far surpassing those of a 16th century provincial metropolitan as was Macarios of Monemvasia. On the contrary one perceives the tortuous effort of a half literate prelate to read a text, which had been written two centuries earlier. Technical terms posed particular difficulties: the term *exkousseia*, immunity, is read *exousia*, authority, thus making sense to him. He also had difficulties understanding the syntax of the document, as in section IV, where the text is almost incomprehensible, or in sections VIII and IX, where he mixes up full stop with comma. These are characteristics that can be observed in the whole of his work, the *Chronicon Maius*.¹

His evident ignorance makes it even more difficult to believe that he had the information and the knowledge on the imperial chancellery, which would allow him to adhere with consistency to all the intricate rules for the issuing of a chrysoboullos logos and to manage to fabricate an official copy of a chrysobull using a prostagma, which is a completely different type

¹ He writes *Νετάρια* instead of *Ταίναρον*: Grecu, 198; *συνηβάσεις* instead of *συμβάσεις*, Grecu, 198; *ἐν-ἐμπροσθεν* for *ἐμπροσθεν*, Grecu, 190; *ἀμφοτέροι καὶ οἱ 4 ἀδελφοί*, Grecu, 268. The form *ἐξουσία* for *ἐξκουσεσία* is also found in the text of a truce between Michael VIII and the Venetians in 1265, Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden*, III, 72.

of document.¹ It would be easier to believe such a forgery if the forger repeated more or less intact the text of the prostagma for Pegai. But this is not the case. The chrysobull introduces historical facts like the conquest of Pegai and legal and fiscal terms, like seventeen specific duties, most of which were related to the activities of the Monemvasiotes in the 14th century and which must have been forgotten by the last quarter of the 16th.² It is difficult to understand how Macarios Melissenos would "grant" new privileges, which he does not even comprehend and cannot even write correctly; or that he would reduce the kommerkion by 1%; or that he knew about the archontopouloi, not mentioned in the prostagma; or about the Bulgarian ports, which stayed in Byzantine hands for 13 years only.³ Such intricate knowledge of history is incompatible with his evident illiteracy which led to the flagrant mistake of using the signature of Andronikos II and a date corresponding to his reign under a document which he wanted to present as having been issued by Andronikos III.

¹ Dölger-Karayannopoulos, 222-26, 233-46; Oikonomides, Chancellerie, 190-94.

² Cf. in 1460 for Monemvasia: "portu et navalibus quondam ornata", Pii Secundi, Commentarii (Frankfurt, 1614), p. 103 and, for the beginning of the 16th century, Sathas, Documents inédits, IV, 224-35.

³ On the ports of Bulgaria there is a certain confusion in the sources: REB, 22 (1964), 235-37.

It is hard to believe that Macarios Melissenos was in a position to stage the process of issuing a document granting privileges with perfect historical and documental consistency and that he could collect, connect and assess such material, which apparently the shrunken Monemvasia of his time did not possess.¹ When even imperial documents of uncontested authenticity present many peculiarities, which often fool specialists in diplomatic history, it is unnecessary to attribute to the pen of Macarios Melissenos the construction of the chrysobull of 1336 for Monemvasia, which as a matter of fact, does not, according to the preceding analysis, contain any particular irregularities.²

The arguments on the motives of the forgery by Macarios Melissenos of the last editor of the chrysobull, Peter Schreiner, are not very convincing. As a rule, Macarios is convicted of having forged Monemvasia's documents to secure the subordination of the bishopric of Androusa under his metropolitan See. Because of the lack of any reference to ecclesiastical

¹ After the Turkish occupation of 1540, Monemvasia does not seem to have had any literary or artistic activity; cf. a letter from Monemvasia to Gabriel Sevros, a contemporary of Macarios: E. Brouskari, Θησαυροπλατά, 18 (1981), 307-24.

² E.g. documents with miniatures have been considered suspicious: J.P. Alexander, B, 15 (1940-41), 172.

matters and especially to Androusa, Schreiner maintains that the document was forged for the glorification of the past of Monemvasia, so that the metropolitan could gain more benefits for the city.¹ But it is doubtful whether such aims could be achieved with the chrysobull of 1336. Nowhere in the text is there any word of praise for the inhabitants, the city or the church as in other chrysobulls for Monemvasia. It is difficult to understand how Monemvasia is glorified through the terrible tangle of incomprehensible terms into which Monemvasiotes of Pegai and Constantinople are also thrown, neither is it more likely that the metropolitan See gains much from the reference to unknown duties or to journeys along the various sea ways and through the straits to the ports of Thrace and Bulgaria. None of the privileges granted by the bull brought any benefit to the Metropolis of Monemvasia, either at the time of its issue or 250 later, when Macarios Melissenos compiled his book.

On the contrary Macarios Melissenos is acquitted of having forged the chrysobull of 1336 on the account of the existence of another source, which confirms the privileges granted by the chrysobull. Another

¹ Schreiner, *Prostagma*, passim and esp. 215, ll. 8-13. Another example of how feeble the arguments are is the fact that the date of the chrysobull could not have been copied from the documents existing in Monemvasia, which were originals and did not have the date in numerals as it appears in the text.

document concerning Monemvasia, later than the chryso-bull, the argyroboullos horismos granted towards the end of the 14th century by the Despot Theodore I, confirms the privilege of total exemption from the kommerkion as well as the complete exemption from taxes at the fairs of the Peloponnese, which it recognizes as preexisting.¹ As we have seen, these privileges had been granted through the documents of Andronikos III and the one mentioned in it of Michael IX. Without these two documents the Monemvasiotes would have remained at the end of the 14th century merely exempted from the kommerkion in their city. The uncontestable existence of the privileges granted by the chrysoboullos logos of Andronikos III of 1336 in the Peloponnese leaves no doubt that it was issued without the help of Macarios Melissenos, as well as the document of Michael IX, which is mentioned in it, while neither the importance of the prostagma for Pegai nor the implications of the forgery for Monemvasia would justify the fabrication of a false chrysobull.

The imperial grants to the city of Monemvasia reached their climax with this chysobull of Andronikos III, issued five years before his death. Relieved from all taxes throughout the Empire and with only a

¹ Miklosich-Müller, V, 171-72.

minimum of obligations in the capital the Monemvasiotes, along with their compatriotes who had settled elsewhere, traveled, mainly by sea, with their ships to all the corners of the Empire, starting from Constantinople and the region around, to the Black Sea and Bulgaria, the ports of Thrace, various islands and the Peloponnese, where they traveled by land also, supplying the cities and the fairs. They transported foodstuffs, mainly wheat and wine, livestock, skins, textiles.¹ The quality of wine, called by Choumnos, "Δωρικοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Μονεμβασίας" must have been superior and the demand great and the Venetians at about this time started producing it also in Crete, in the area of Malvesin. They transported vines from Monemvasia as the documents mention.²

The Monemvasiotes do not seem, however, to have been

¹ Laiou, "Εμποροί, 11, 14-15, 17-18; Laiou, DOP, 34-35, pp. 205-08; Oikonomides, Hommes d'affaires, 44-46, 87-88.

² J.Fr. Boissonade, Anecdota Nova (Paris, 1844, rpt. Hildesheim, 1962), p. 212. The existing information on the wine of Monemvasia has not been so far systematically collected and studied. The lack of mentions before the 13th century could be due to the fact that it was one of the so-called κερκωλυμένα προϊόντα, which it was not permitted to export: Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes, 50-51, 103-04. Some information in: B.D. Krimbas, "Ὁ οἶνος καὶ αἱ ποικιλίαι ἀμπέλου Μαλβαζία," Ἐπιστημονικὴ Τριακονταπενταετηρίς Ν. Κρητικοῦ (Athens, 1944), 112-44; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 249-50; Miller, Monemvasia, 240, 244-45. On the production of Malvasia in Crete: B. Imhaus, "Enchères des fiefs et vignobles de la Republique Vénitienne en Crète au XIVe siècle," ΕΕΒΕ, 41 (1974), 195-210. On Malvesin: N. Platon, "Περὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν τῆς ἐπαρχίας Μαλεβίζι," Κρητικὰ Χρονικά, 6 (1952), 156-58, cf. 158 n. 6, where a possible derivation of the name from the Monemvasiotes is examined.

handling in their commerce manufacturing products or luxury goods.

These activities, which brought affluence to Monemvasia, now at its peak, transformed the city into a commercial power comparable to the Italian cities.¹

The wealth of the city tempted again another well known pirate, Umur Beg, who tried twice in 1335 to raid Monemvasia. The local authorities preferred to pay him off, the poet of *Düstürname* says they offered him a tribute, meeting him at a distance from the city to prevent him from coming closer, which might have tempted him anew.²

III... Monemvasia and the Kantakouzenoi

The death of Andronikos III was followed by a great upheaval in the political and ecclesiastical

¹ Laiou, *Andronicus*, 5, 257; Oikonomidés, *Hommes d'affaires*, 88.

² I. Melikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d'Umur Pasha. (Düstürname-i-Enveri)* (Paris, 1954), 71-78, 102-03, 106, 115; P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident. Recherches sur "La geste d'Umur Pasha"* (Paris, 1957), 83-84, 88. The view of V. Laurent, *Synodikon*, 149, that the Turks actually conquered Monemvasia is not justified by the information contained in this source. Cf. R. Cessi-M. Brunetti, *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati (Senato) Serie Mixtorum, II, Libri XV-XVI* (Venice, 1961), nos. 221, 232, 258, 283, on the danger from the raids of the Turks in the Aegean.

life of the Empire.¹ Even though the events took place very far from Monemvasia, the city was affected for various reasons. One important reason was the interest of the capital in this rich and active city, particularly after the Eastern provinces had been definitely lost to the Turks. Increasing numbers of Monemvasiotes settled in Constantinople augmenting the extent of their trade. Some Monemvasiotes made large fortunes out of this trade and a few, as we will see, through their wealth acquired authority in the administration and the church.

The existing sources concerning Monemvasia during the civil war and the reign of John VI Kantakouzenos are mainly ecclesiastical. Only scant information about the city and its inhabitants can be derived from these texts.² One of them, however, is abundantly informative about the Monemvasiotes and their activities during the period immediately after the death of Andronikos III, the civil war and the controversy between the followers and the opponents of Gregory Palamas. This is the "Life of Isidore", who was elected but never ordained Metropolitan of Monemvasia and later, during the reign of Kantakouzenos became

¹ Nicol, 1261-1453, 191-216.

² E.g. PG, 148, col. 1031-1034, n. 49; cf. J. Meyendorff, Introduction à l'Étude de Grégoire Palamas (Patristica Sorbonensa, 3) (Paris, 1959), 90.

Patriarch of Constantinople.¹ Isidore was never ordained because he refused to renounce Palamism. Even so as "ὑποψήφιος" of Monemvasia he managed his See from Constantinople up to 1344, when another metropolitan was appointed.²

The biographer of Isidore apparently knew the Monemvasiotes of Constantinople quite well. He talks about them as a race that had always been closely connected to the sea. They were engaged in sea-trade and only a few still kept their traditional occupation as "στρατός ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς θαλάττιος".³ They had bad manners, they were coarse and used a vulgar language. Like true sailors they were always prone to quarrels and stabbings.⁴

Isidore, thanks to his office, came in touch with all sorts of Monemvasiotes. These were Monemvasiotes

¹ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Zitiĭa dvuh vselenskih patriahov XIV v. (St. Petersburg, 1905), 52-149; new edition by D.G. Tsamis, Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Ἀγιολογικὰ Ἔργα. Α' Θεσσαλονικεῖς Ἅγιοι (Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρεμνῶν Θεσσαλονικεῖς Βυζαντινοί Συγγραφεῖς, 4) (Thessaloniki, 1985), pp. 327-423.

² On Isidore's career Meyendorff, Palamas, 105-06, 109-15 and below chapter 6 VII.

³ Gregoras, Schopen, I, 98; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Zitiĭa, 88-89; Laiou, "Ἐμποροί", 15-16; Laiou, DOP, 34-35, p. 207; Laiou, Greek merchant, 113-14; A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis (N. Brunswick-New Jersey, 1980), 104-05.

⁴ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Zitiĭa, 88-89.

from Monemvasia visiting the capital, who brought him in touch with his See and also part of his revenues, asking for his blessing and even, in times, for his miraculous intervention. An oil merchant dedicated to him his first consignment of oil, which he had brought to Constantinople and which, when blessed by Isidore, became miraculous. Another came from Monemvasia to ask for his blessing against his childlessness and indeed he begat a child shortly after.¹ Some of the visiting Monemvasiotes were merchants moving freely about by sea, whereas others were friends and relatives of those already settled in the capital, who had come to see them.²

Among the Monemvasiotes permanently settled in Constantinople some, according to the "Life of Isidore", had emigrated and "changed their country" a long time before. These could be the Tzacones, who had been brought over by Michael VIII and, even after 80 years, retained memories of their former home.³ A case which is particularly interesting is that of the Monemvasiot merchant Nicolaos, permanently settled in Constantinople. His family name is not known, but he

¹ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Zitiya, 89-93, 103-04.

² Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Zitiya, 89, 91, 103.

³ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Zitiya, 89.

must have come from an important family. He cannot have been very old, because he was persuaded by Isidore, whose close friend he was, to marry after an unsettled life. He was very wealthy, but it does not become clear from the text whether this wealth was acquired in Monemvasia or in Constantinople, where it appears that he had settled a short time before. He was a sincere supporter and friend of Kantakouzenos, for whose cause he risked his fortune, which was saved from the fury of the crowd thanks to Isidore's timely intervention. Connected to Kantakouzenos and Isidore, Nicolaos must have been a Palamite, as indeed the majority of his compatriots seem to have been, since they supported their Palamite Metropolitan.¹ Nicolaos may be identified with the "οἰκεῖος" of the Emperor called Nicolaos, who appears in ecclesiastical documents during the patriarchate of Isidore undertaking missions as an imperial envoy.² Nicolaos is a special case because of his friendship with the Emperor and the Patriarch. It was for this reason that some scattered information about him found its way into the sources. But he was certainly not an isolated case.

Apart from the imperial and ecclesiastical documents, the books of the notaries of the Italian cities

¹ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Zitijs, PLP, no. 29395.

² Miklosich-Müller, I, 284-85.

shed some light on the activities of Byzantine merchants.¹ After the end of the civil war, various reasons led Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos to reduce the kommerkion generally for them in the Empire to 2%, putting them on a par with the Latin merchants.² It would be useful to examine if this measure had any effect on the activities of the Monemvasiotes, who do not seem to have received any new privileges for their city and their trade from Kantakouzenos.³ From the fact that the Monemvasiotes never appear as his adversaries but on the contrary seem to have been his supporters, we must assume that none of the measures he took, not even lowering the taxation for all merchants, nor the additional taxes on wine and wheat, acted contrary to their interests. The privileges emanating from the chrysobull of 1336, full exemption from the kommerkion throughout the Empire, except Constantinople, where they paid 1%, full exemption from any duty on other goods that they traded in, mainly wheat and wine, and particularly exemption from all future taxes, placed the Monemvasiotes in a more favourable position than all other Byzantine merchants.

¹ Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 87-88 n. 150-152 and passim; Laiou, *DOP* 34-35, pp. 206-28, 217, 219 and passim.

² Except for the Venetians and the Genoese: Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*, 46; Laiou, *DOP*, 34-35, pp. 34-35, 194; Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, 102.

³ Medvedev, *VV*, 32 (1971), 223-31.

Because the chrysobull stipulated the exemption from the payment of taxes for producers who sold to the Monemvasiotes, even the wine producers of the area cannot have felt the consequences of the new taxation.¹

John VI Kantakouzenos respected the privileges granted to the Monemvasiotes by all the previous Emperors, as he himself asserts in the chrysobull he issued for the metropolitan See of Monemvasia.² The document which will be examined in detail in the relevant chapter, regulates certain differences between the metropolitans of Monemvasia and Lacedaemonia concerning the boundaries of their respective regions and reasserts the uncontested possession of certain areas and settlements near the border by the metropolitan of Monemvasia. At the end the privileges granted earlier are repeated with the addition of an important new one, the "τόπος" of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. As we will see the chrysobull must have been issued in October 1348 or 1349.³

A very interesting element in this chrysobull is the account of a series of four documents with

¹ Oikonomides, Hommes d'affaires, 46-48.

² Medvedev, VV, 32 (1971), 221-28.

³ See below chapter 6 VII.

privileges concerning Monemvasia issued by the deceased emperors Matthaios, a corruption of Maurice, Constantine Poghonatos, Alexios Komnenos and Andronikos Palaeologos. They seem to follow a precise chronological order.¹ In the text John VI states that he intends to respect these documents and the question is why did he choose out of the series of imperial documents on Monemvasia these particular four. Since John's chrysobull contains the description of the limits of the region which was under the jurisdiction of the metropolis, the answer perhaps can be found in the text explaining that the four older chrysobulls described, delimited and encircled the coastal villages and towns that Monemvasia had under its jurisdiction. Furthermore in two other occasions it is mentioned that these chrysobulls defined the possessions of Monemvasia. It is clear that Kantakouzenos was not interested in documents which did not contain the description of the territory under the jurisdiction of Monemvasia, like the chrysobulls of 1284 and 1301, but in those like the chrysobull of 1314, which contains the description of the region and the older documents must have

¹ The only emperor bearing the name of Matthaios the son of John VI, was still alive at the time of the issue of the chrysobull. As a monastic name it has been used only by Manuel Komnenos, but it seems unlikely to have him mentioned before Poghonatos and his own grandfather.

contained precisely that, i.e. references on the territory of Monemvasia and its boundaries, which possibly the older chrysobulls defined. (Pl. 1-2)

At about the time of issue of the chrysobull, on October 1349, the Emperor's son, Despot Manuel Kantakouzenos, arrived in the Peloponnese as a ruler of the Byzantine possessions and settled in Mystras.¹ His father in his Memoirs emphasizes the opposition of the local archons to Manuel's efforts for administrative and military reforms. No mention is made of the attitude shown by the archons and the citizens of Monemvasia towards Manuel, but it is quite possible that it was favourable. Manuel's administration does not seem to have been at variance with the interests of the Monemvasiotes, while their economic prosperity not only helped the economy of the whole of the Peloponnese but could also set the example for the reorganization of the rich and promising but always restless province.

It is quite possible that the Monemvasiotes with their long tradition and experience at sea contributed to the organization of the Peloponnesian fleet that Manuel tried to set up. It was this enterprise of his that started the uprising of the archons of the .

¹ Cantacuzene, Bonn, III, 85; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, I, 243, II, 275-76; Nicol, Kantakouzenos, no.22, p. 123.

Peloponnese against him, instigated by Lampoudios.¹ Despite the lack of information we must assume that the Monemvasiotes had every reason to support Manuel's plans rather than participating in the uprising. There is another indirect proof that the Monemvasiotes did not take part in the revolution, that the opponents of the Despot seem to have been unwarlike, whereas the sources emphasize the Monemvasiotes' competence in military art.²

After the resignation of John VI Kantakouzenos, John V Palaeologos sent to the Peloponnese the brothers Asen to relieve Manuel of his office, in 1355. The extent of the conflicts that followed is not quite known. John Kantakouzenos mentions in his Memoirs that, when he himself ceased to be an Emperor, the archons of the Peloponnese, even though they had made their submission to Despot Manuel, took courage and thought that the time had come to rise against him. In the meantime the new emperor had sent the two sons of Isaak Asen as governors of the Peloponnese and they came into conflict with the despot. The Peloponnesian archons together with the brothers Asen were thus united against him. The single exception was a

¹ Cantacuzene, Bonn, III, 86-88; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 98-99.

² Cantanuzene, III, 88-89; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 99-100.

was impregnable thanks to its strength both natural and man-made. And he using their force only subdued them all anew and with the force of the weapons he enslaved them".¹

It is hard to think of any town which should meet such a description other than Monemvasia. It could offer Manuel, who seems to have been without even his personal guard, the garrison, which it had always sustained. It had the impressive natural defense to be considered impregnable and the fortifications which must have been equally impressive. Mystras, the other of the two cities proposed by historians for identification with the city where Manuel took refuge, lacked certainly the natural defense as well as a local garrison which is specifically mentioned by Kantakouzenos.²

The support given by the Monemvasiotes to the Kantakouzenoi may explain the burial in Monemvasia of a Kantakouzenos who had been Emperor as a text of the 16th century informs us : "...gnati poli Cantacozini evasilepsan, que apo quinous tous vasilef ehi enan thamenon is ton goulan tis Monovasias is tin Oditrian eclisian Omorfi". One wonders if it refers to John VI who died in the Morea.³

¹ Cantacuzene, III, 88-89.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 99-100.

³ V. Laurent, "Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789," REB, 9 (1951), 70-71; Nicol, Kantakouzenos, no. 22, p.92, n.139.

5 . 1380-1460. The Peloponnese under the Palaeologoi

I . Palaeologos-Mamonas

In the Funeral Oration which Emperor Manuel II composed in memory of his brother Theodore, it is stated that, when Manuel Kantakuzenos, the ruler of the Peloponnese, died childless, he was succeeded by his brother Matthaïos "an exceedingly kind man, of higher rank and older than his deceased brother".¹ There is no hint anywhere in the text either that Matthaïos's rule displeased the imperial family or was against their wishes or that it was meant to be a temporary appointment pending the arrival of the actual successor, Theodore Palaeologos, and it is possible that even before the death of his brother Matthaïos had taken part in governing the Peloponnese, after he settled there with his family in 1361.²

¹ Manuel II Palaeologus, Funeral Oration, ed. J. Chrysostomides, CFHB XXVI (Thessaloniki, 1985), 114-15, ll. 13-15; ed. S.P. Lampros, Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, III, 37. On the death of Manuel Kantakouzenos: Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, I, 243, II, 323; Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 119, 127; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 112, 114, 445.

² Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 91, 118-19; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 339, R.-J. Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse au XIVe siècle (1382-1404)," Byzantina et Franco-Graeca, I (Rome, 1970), 230, Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 15-16, 114 n.35, believe the arrangement was only temporary. Cf. Rubið y Lluch, D.O.C., no. 379, p. 460.

Several lines in the Epitaphios are dedicated to one of the two sons of Matthaïos, who had followed him to the Morea; his father had ceded him "fortresses" and he, having an army and in alliance with Latins and Turks, rebelled against his father, who found himself in a difficult position.¹ At this point, however, the Emperor, perhaps considering the events very well known and very unpleasant, omits the sequel, as do all contemporary sources and we must assume that a *damnatio memoriae* was imposed concerning this person and that that is the reason for the lacuna in the information on the events in the Peloponnese following the death of Manuel Kantakouzenos up to the arrival of Theodore Palaeologos who succeeded Matthaïos. This must be the reason also why the name of the rebel is omitted.²

¹ Funeral Oration, 114-15, ll. 15-17, 116-17, ll. 17-24; Lampros, Epitaphios, 37, 39. On Matthaïos's sons: Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 118, 121-22, 157-60.

² It is omitted in the Epitaphios and in other sources that refer to the rebellion, e.g. Demetrius Cydones, Correspondance, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, II (Studi e Testi, 208) (Vatican City, 1960), no. 241, pp. 144-45; "Res Gestae Theodori Ioann. f. Palaeologi. Titulus metricus A.D. 1389," ed. R.-J. Loenertz, EEBS, 25 (1955), 207-10. The *damnatio memoriae* might also explain certain difficulties in tracing the genealogy of the Kantakouzenoi after Matthaïos's sons: cf. D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos. Some addenda et corrigenda," DOP, 27 (1973), 312-313.

John, the elder of Matthaios's two sons, held the title of despot even before their departure from Constantinople in 1361 and therefore, being more qualified to claim the rule of the Peloponnese, could logically be identified as the rebel.¹ This opinion is supported by the existence of his portrait in a contemporary icon, originally belonging to a monastery of the area of Tzaconia, in which John is pictured at the age he must have been at the time of Manuel Kantakouzenos's death, bearing the garments of a despot-ruler of an independent area.² The region which the rebel had been given by his father to rule, before he claimed the rule of the whole of the Byzantine Peloponnese is hard to identify, the origin, however, of the icon from Tzaconia indicates the eastern Peloponnese. Since the rebel's forces included a local army,

¹ His brother was a sebastocrator. Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 118. G. T. Dennis, The reign of Manuel II. Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 159) (Rome, 1960), 116 n. 40 and Chrysostimides, Funeral Oration, 114 n. 37, accept the identification of the rebel with Despot John. Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 117-18, following Hopf, Geschichte, II, 13; Laurent, Vaticanus Latinus, 85, prefer Sebastocrator Demetrios. Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 157-60, thinks there is not enough evidence for either view.

² G. Gerola, "L'effigie del Despota Giovanni Cantacuzeno," B, 6 (1931), 379-87; M. Theocharis, "Παράγία ἡ Ἀρτοῦωστᾶ, La Beata Vergine delle Grazie," Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς (1953-54), 253-54. Cf. Ps. Koudinos, Traité des offices, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 307, 333.

which could have been composed of Tzacones and since Tzaconia was Monemvasia's territory the region could have been Monemvasia.¹ The relations of the Monemvasiotes with the Kantakouzenoi, as we have seen, were excellent and consequently it is possible that they might have accepted a Kantakouzenos as their governor. It is unclear, however, when could Matthaïos have ceded Monemvasia to his son and, if the cession happened before Matthaïos succeeded his brother in Mystras, on what authority.

The task of the reconciliation of the rebel with his father was undertaken by the elderly ex-Emperor and grandfather of the rebel John Kantakouzenos, who set out for the Peloponnese as soon as the situation in the capital allowed, when, that is, he was released from jail along with other members of the imperial family, who had fallen victims of the antagonism between the Venetians and the Genoese and the upheaval caused by Andronikos IV.² The ex-Emperor's journey to the Peloponnese is mentioned in a letter that Demetrios

¹ Funeral Oration, 117, l. 21. "τῶν ἐπιχωρίων" is, however, given a more general sense and is not related to the army in the translation; Lampros, Epitaphios, 39.

² Funeral Oration, 16, 111 ll. 14-16; Loenertz, Pour l'histoire, 231-32; Nicol, Kantakouzenos, 91-92; Nicol, 1261-1453, 289-93.

Kydones addressed to Matthaios Kantakouzenos. He expresses the wish for a rapid improvement of the situation there, "βασιλέως μὲν πατρός εἰσηγουμένου τὰ δέοντα, βασιλέως δέ υἱοῦ συμπονοῦντος".¹ As has already been pointed out,² Kydones uses a parallel which would require the second part of the phrase to refer to a son of Matthaios bearing a royal title. Consequently, because Matthaios had no such son, it has been accepted that the reference concerned Theodore Palaeologos, who finally succeeded Matthaios. If he was not the "king son" he was a "king's son". However, the identification with Theodore, apart from not fitting properly in Kydones's parallel, is out of context with the rest of the letter. On the contrary the title that the elder son of Matthaios bore allowed him to be addressed as "βασιλεύς".³ On this assumption several other points of the letter, which remained obscure if they concerned Theodore, are clarified since they refer to the rebel and the efforts to reconvert him.⁴

¹ Kydones, Correspondance, II, no. 241, p. 145, ll. 42-43.

² Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire*, 233.

³ Ps. Kodinos, Verpeaux, 307.

⁴ In the same letter, "ὅς παρὰ σέ δραμών σέ μὲν ἡδονῆς ἐμπλήσει φανείς, αὐτός δέ καλόν σέ ἔξει θεατὴν πρὸς ὃν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξεται", p. 145, ll. 43-45, there was no need for Theodore to offer guarantees for his virtue. Also "ἡμερουμένων μὲν σου κύκλω τῶν πολεμίων εὐνοοῦντων δέ τῶν οἰκείων" establishes a relation between the rebels and the relatives which makes sense if it refers to Despot John, p. 144, ll. 22-23. The ambiguity, however, in Kydones's letter seldom allows for safe identifications: Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire*, 234 n.4.

Despot Theodore, as Manuel recalls in the Epitaphios, had set out from the Capital for the Peloponnese, without army, provisions or money, relying for support on his grandfather and uncle.¹ When, however, the ship brought him there, the situation he was faced with was extremely difficult, since his grandfather had died and the rebels were constantly gaining ground.² Theodore is first mentioned as Despot of Mystras in March 1384, in a decision of the Venetian Senate allowing the castellan of Coron Pietro Grimani to accept the donation by the Despot of nothing less than the "terra di Malvasia". The precise reasons which led to the choice of this particular region to be offered to Grimani are not clear.³ It is a fact that the castellan of Coron was a person trusted by the Palaeologoi. He had helped them earlier, when they were in difficulties and still had the means and perhaps the

¹ Funeral Oration, 112-13, ll. 5-15; Lampros, *Epitaphios*, 35.

² Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 69-70, II, 325-26; Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, 91-92; Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire*, 233. The date of Theodore's arrival, as accepted, is based on the identification in Kydones' s letter mentioned above.

³ ASV, Senato, Misti, 38, fol.107^V; F. Thiriet, Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie (Paris, 1958-61), I, no. 668; Gerola, *L'effigie*, 385 n. 2; Dennis, *The reign*, 117 n. 45. Usually the facts of 1384 are confused with those of 1391-94.

will to do it again.¹ The fact that Theodore offered Monemvasia to Grimani and the disagreement in the dates given for his arrival by the sources, i.e. various Short Chronicles, causes many doubts whether Theodore managed to reach Mystras as early as it is generally accepted.² Most probably he tried to disembark in Monemvasia, which was on the side of Despot John and the rebels and failed. Instead he found refuge in Coron, where Grimani the old friend of the Palaeologoi was castellan. In gratitude towards him and at the same time in order to punish the rebellious city, he ceded it to Grimani and the Senate allowed him to accept the offer. There is no information concerning the consequences of these decisions; it is only certain that Monemvasia was not occupied by the Venetians.³

It is usually accepted that the resistance of Monemvasia against Theodore was instigated by the archon

¹ Following orders from Venice, however, and not on his own initiative. On Grimani, C. Maltezos, Ὁ Θεσμός τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετοῦ Βασιλέως (1268-1453) (Athens, 1970), 118.

² I.e. 1382: Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, I, 233, II, 324-25; Loenertz, Pour l'histoire, 230-34; Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 16, 113 n. 33.

³ It does not appear in any source as being under Venetian rule.

Mamonas. This opinion is not based on any evidence and the known facts are not enough to support the hypothesis that Mamonas was already in power when Theodore arrived in the Peloponnese and that he joined the rebels at that time, in consequence of which Monemvasia was offered to Grimani. Mamonas is mentioned in the sources as having ruled Monemvasia, but it is not defined precisely when he assumed the rule, which was withdrawn from him by Theodore shortly before 1394.¹ Chalkokondyles, who mentions him in relation to the events of 1394, does not give any information except his Monemvasiot surname but the Chronicon Maius goes into more detail. It mentions that his name was Paul, that his father had ruled Monemvasia since many years and that he succeeded him "on the orders of the Emperor". Furthermore that he considered Monemvasia as his fief because of the long period during which his family had ruled over the city.² At another point in the Chronicon Maius there is an indirect reference to an archon of Monemvasia called Mamonas and the authentic text of Sphrantzes is almost identically repeated. In this extract Sphrantzes referring to the death of his sister and her husband Gregory Palaeologos Mamonas,

¹ This view is based on Hopf, Geschichte, II, 56, and it is not based on any evidence: Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 125; Dennis, The reign, 118; Loenertz, Pour l'histoire, 292 and Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 142-43 n. 69 leave room for certain doubts.

² Chalkokondyles, Darkò, I, 74-75; Ps. Phrantzes, Gre-Grecu, 248.

defines the latter as the son of the "megas dux" and sometime lord of Monemvasia and the surroundings.¹

In the *Chronicon Maius*, as usual, the two references are not correlated. There is no doubt, however, that they concern the same person and at the point where the text has Paul one should suspect one of the frequent corruptions and read the word Palaeologos.

In the *Epitaphios* Manuel recalls that "certain noblemen who...were against us...were related to us by blood; they had enjoyed no small honours, and they had taken an oath of their own free will...but they took offence, without having been wronged in any way whatsoever..."² Even if one supports that this mention applies to more than one "noblemen", it is certain that it concerns also Palaeologos-Mamonas, who apparently owed his honours and offices to Manuel and Theodore personally. Consequently it would seem unlikely that Mamonas was in office before March 1384. When Theodore arrived in the Peloponnese Despot John must have

¹ Sphrantzes, *Grecu*, 6; Ps. Phrantzes, *Grecu*, 198. On 'megas dux' not much is known during this period. Possibly it was only an honorary title: Ps. Kodinos, *Verpeaux*, 167; Ahrweiler, *Mer*, does not refer to it at this late period. Cf. Zakythinos, *Despotat*, II, 98 n. 6, 106; Brehier, *Institutions*, 340-42. On the family: A. Meliarakis, *Οἰκογένεια Μαμωνᾶ* (Athens, 1902); *PLP*, nos. 16574-16579.

² "εὐγενεῖς τινες ἄνδρες...καθ' ἡμῶν ἐάλωσαν... Προσέκοντες ἦσαν ἡμῖν καθ' αἷμα: εὖ πεπόνθασι παρ' ἡμῶν... τιμῆς ἀπήλαυσαν οὐ σμικρὰς: ὄρκους ἐκουσίους παρέσχον...προσκεκρούκασιν ἡδίκημένοι μηδ' ὀτιοῦν" *Funeral Oration*, 125 ll. 24-27, 127 l. 1. Cf. pp. 124-26.

still been alive and Monemvasia on his side. The threat of its cession to the Venetians must have driven the Monemvasiotes to attempt for their part a reconciliation with the imperial family and consequently the cession was dropped. At this time, after March 1384 a person of common acceptance, as Palaeologos-Mamonas was, assumed, with the support of Despot Theodore Palaeologos and the imperial family, whose relative he was, the rule of Monemvasia. The Chronicon Maius mentions him as the successor of his father, but it is possible that the name of Despot John, if indeed he had assumed the rule of Monemvasia, is missing on account of the *damnatio memoriae*. The oaths of allegiance of Mamonas, as Manuel recites, were soon forgotten and, following the example of other archons of the Peloponnese, he joined in the rebellion against Theodore. The situation for him was continuously deteriorating, since as the Latin archbishop of Argos reported one year later, all the Despot's "barons" were in rebellion against him.¹

By July 1391 Theodore had managed to gain some control and must have had hopes that the whole of the Peloponnese would soon be pacified.² His intense

¹ Rubiñ y Lluch, D.O.C., no. 574, p. 612, ll. ... 117-18, Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 17-18.

² Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire*, 236-40.

diplomatic activity must have outwitted the archon of Monemvasia Mamonas and led to the latter's overthrow. Mamonas later complained that Theodore had used "insult, dishonesty and shame" to seize the power from him.¹ On the other hand the civil war which had been going on for ten years had no doubt exhausted the population and brought heavy economic repercussions, which the Monemvasiotes had absolutely no reason to want to perpetuate. The dating by a recently published Short Chronicle of an argyroboullon issued by Theodore in the year 1391-2 shows that the negotiations must have led to an agreement by that date and in confirmation the Despot issued the document, in which he renewed all the old privileges, offering furthermore pardon to those who supported the rebels by giving them the chance of an amnesty.²

The text of Theodore's argyroboullos horismos has survived in a later copy. It is written in a simple, almost common language, very different from the scholarly style of the older documents.³ It has no

¹ Ps. Phrantzes, *Grecu*, 198, 11.11-13. Cf. Chalkokondyles, *Darkò*, 75, 11. 3-5.

² Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, no. 32/28, p. 233, II, 346-48; Schreiner, *Προνόμια*, 161-64.

³ From ms Kutlunus 220, fols. 191^V-193^R. First edition: S.P. Lampros, "Μονεμβασιωτικά," *Παρνασσός*, 7 (1883), 473-76. References in the text are from Miklosich-Müller, V, 171-74.

prooimion and starts by citing the beneficiaries, who are all Monemvasiotes, those wanting to return to Monemvasia and those already there and furthermore anybody else wanting to come to the city and settle, whoever he might be and wherever he might come from.¹

The privileges granted are complete eleutheria and akatadoulosia for their persons, their land and their belongings and complete exemption from the payment of kommerkion in Monemvasia as well as in any city or kastron under the rule of the Despot. Furthermore exemption from any tax during the fairs held yearly in the cities and kastro in the domain of the despot, exemption from any other tax existing at the time of the document's issue or which would be levied in the future. Neither the kephale nor the archon or any other official has the right to impose corvées or any other burden such as mageireia or opsonion, nor to seize any products like meat, wine or fish, but can only buy them at current prices. Furthermore their succeeding heirs will be free to inherit without restriction all their belongings, present or future, movable or real. Finally they are exempted from the kritikon, while the establishment of a sekreton in the city will try all cases.²

¹ Miklosich-Müller, V, 171, ll. 1-5.

² Miklosich-Müller, V, 171, ll. 5-11, 172, ll. 1-12.

After citing the exemptions the Despot continues referring again to the rights of settlement in Monemvasia. Those wanting to leave have the permission to go anywhere else and sell or exchange their belongings and in general to do anything they want. If someone from somewhere else wants to come and settle in Monemvasia, whatever his condition, even if he is a serf, he can decide concerning his property anything he wants, whether to sell, to donate, to exchange or to keep, whatever it may be, without obligation of tax or duty. And they too are eleutheroi and akatadoulotoi, inviolable, like the afore mentioned.¹ The privilege of unrestricted settlement in Monemvasia does not cover the inhabitants of the region of the following places: Vatica, Tzaconia, Molaoi, Esopos, Helos, Hierakion, Apideai, Serafon, Tzitzina, Rheon, Prastos, Kastanitza, Haghios Leonidas. The inhabitants of these regions must first ask the Despot who will decide on each case individually.² (Pl. 2)

The document ends with a provision allowing that those who have committed an offence may find refuge in Monemvasia, no one having the right to stop them

¹ Miklosich-Müller, V, 172, ll. 12-24.

² Miklosich-Müller, V, 172, ll. 24-29; the contents are repeated p. 172, ll. 29-35, p. 173. ll. 1-32.

or prosecute them unless they have been concerned with treasonable acts against the Despot, the region where he rules or his army. But even in these cases they can avoid prosecution if they can produce a document in their favour issued either by the Despot or the Metropolitan or the Despot's confessor.¹

The last document granting privileges to the city of Monemvasia to be issued before this argyroboullon was the chrysobull of 1336 by Andronikos III, which granted the city the maximum of privileges that it had ever enjoyed. The comparison of the two documents leads to several remarks.² The argyroboullon which does not mention any other older privileges, by granting *eleutheria* and *akatadoulosia*, renews two of the oldest privileges of the Monemvasiotes, *eleutheria* and *exkousseia*, *akatadoulosia* being equivalent to the latter.³ Furthermore it grants total exemption from the *kommerkion* as did the chrysobull of 1336.⁴ The tax exemptions that follow are completely in line with those the chrysobull provided for the whole of the Peloponnese.⁵ A special reminder is addressed to

¹ Miklosich-Müller, V, 173, ll. 32-33, 174, ll. 1-7.

² Above, pp. 217-29.

³ Above, 192-95. On *akatadoulosia*, Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 183.

⁴ Above, 217-222.

⁵ Above, 226-27.

the authorities of the city, the kephale, the archon and the other officials not to impose any duty. In the 1336 document there is a similar provision for the state officials.¹ In the horismos the exemption of the property of the Monemvasiotes from death duties which is not mentioned in the chrysobull reappears.² Concerning justice the horismos provides for the exemption of the inhabitants from the relevant tax, the kritikon, and for the establishment of a sekreton in the city, which would try all cases concerning Monemvasia . Thus another privilege of Monemvasia is attested, a certain judicial independence. This privilege may have already existed in a different form as is shown by the existence in the chrysobull of a clause providing that the cases of the Monemvasiotes were not to be judged by the authorities of Constantinople but by the imperial sekreton. Possibly, as in the case of the kommerkion, the kritikon was being collected by the city authorities.³

In the chrysobull one does not find the detailed clauses concerning the effort to attract new inhabitants to the city, which is clearly evident from the *very*

¹ Above, 229.

² It was mentioned in the chrysobull of 1284: above, 192-93.

³ Above, 194-95.

first ~~even~~ paragraph of the argyroboullon. Even if it is not easy to evaluate from the contemporary sources the nature and extent of the confusion during the civil war, the agonized efforts to attract inhabitants demonstrate the devastation and decay. The horismos concerns the inhabitants of Monemvasia, but according to it those too who had left the city and were interested in coming back, as well as anybody else of whatever origin interested in settling there are considered inhabitants. It is impressive that they could have even been serfs. So urgent was the need for a quick revival of the city that the right of settlement was given under certain conditions even to persons accused of involvement in acts of treason. However this clause must have had an appeasing effect by limiting the attempts for revenge as also the clause on complete freedom to depart.¹

Restrictions in the free migration to the city of Monemvasia were imposed on one category only, the inhabitants of the series of settlements enumerated in detail in the argyroboullon. For them the Despot himself would examine each case separately and give the necessary permission. This perplexing measure has caused many strange theories.² If, however, one traced on

¹ Schreiner, Προνόμια, 163.

² Schreiner, Προνόμια, 163.

the map this series of settlements the position of which, with the exception of mysterious Tzaconia, is known he would observe that they formed a continuous chain, which apparently delimites the territory of Monemvasia.¹

(pl. 2) It is known that most of these towns were defended by castles. So it must have been security reasons at a time when the Turkish threat was nearing that imposed the exemption of the inhabitants of these particular "kastra" from moving freely to the city of Monemvasia. In this manner an adequate number of men fit for the garrisons could be secured. Otherwise there was a danger that they, lured by the safety of the rock and the favourable provisions for the settlement on it, would abandon the frontiers unguarded.²

If, as we have supposed, the limits of the territory of Monemvasia had advanced towards the western coast of the Peloponnese during the 14th century it seems that after the end of the upheaval caused by the rebellion of John Kantakouzenos, they had shrank to their older position.

¹ The name of Tzaconia here seems to indicate a town, a "kastron" and not the region with the same name. Caratzas, Tzacones, 123, 349-53, proposes the identification with Castel Rampan, which was situated between Vatica and Asopos.

² The events that followed showed that either they were not efficiently guarded or they capitulated to the Turks following instructions by the Despot.

The strategic importance of these kasta was soon to be proved. After his overthrow Palaeologos-Mamonas fled to the dreaded Sultan of the Turks Bajezid. In his court the new conspiracy started brewing; it included other participants, most probably among them the vicar of the Navarrese Pierre de Saint Superan and the cousin of Despot Theodore, John son of Andronikos IV, pretender to the imperial throne.¹ They "goaded each other to evil acts", recalls Manuel in the Epitaphios,² and finally, at the end of 1393, convinced Bajezid to cross from Asia Minor to Macedonia and summon Theodore to his camp in Serres. He, knowing Bajezid's dark intentions and the danger of being murdered so that the Sultan could take his cities, thought nevertheless that he had to go. In Serres he found his brother Manuel and other Christian rulers, gathered by Bajezid who had in mind to kill them all together.³ The conspirators were also there, inciting the Sultan against them, particularly

¹ Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire*, 242-44.

² "παρώξυνον ἀλλήλους πρὸς τὰ κακά": Funeral Oration, 133, ll. 1-3.

³ Funeral Oration, 133, l. 13--137, l. 15.

John VIII against Manuel and Mamonas against Theodore.¹ Mamonas accused Theodore of having seized Monemvasia "by force...and with offence and dishonour and shame chased him thither".² Theodore found himself prisoner of Bajezid, who threatened to kill him demanding from him his most important cities, and he was forced to cede Monemvasia and its surrounding territory.³

It is certain that the surrender of Monemvasia had not taken place up to March 1394. Shortly before the Monemvasiotes appealed to the Venetian authorities of Euboea seeking to surrender their city to Venice. This action apparently was an initiative of the citizens of Monemvasia. It is not known whether the Turks were still on their way or had already reached the city demanding its surrender. The fact is that, despite the original consent of the bailo of Negroponte, the Senate, terrified by the Turkish threat, declined "tenutam et possessionem" of Monemvasia and the city was occupied by the Turks, a "vain ransom", according to the Epitaphios.⁴

¹ Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire*, 243-44.

² Ps. Phrantzes, *Grecu*, 198, ll. 12-13.

³ Funeral Oration, 143, ll. 13-17, 145, ll. 1-2, 142, 146.

⁴ ASV, Senato, Misti, 42, fol. 155, 5^a III, 1394; Thiriet, Régestes, I, no. 844, pp. 200; Loenertz, *Pour l'histoire*, 240-45; Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 142-43, n. 69; p. 143, ll. 15-17: "Μονεμβασία γάρ ἤδη εἰληπτο λύτρον μάταιον δοθεῖσα πρὸς τοῖς πέριξ πολυχνίοις οὐτ'ὀλίγοις οὔτε φαύλην δύναμιν ἔχουσιν".

There are many questions concerning the surrender the details of which are unknown. Why did the garrisons stationed on the frontier towns not offer a resistance to the Turks, as had been Theodore's intention; why did the city which could withstand a long siege surrender; if there were perhaps local feuds; if Mamonas had followers, who helped him and the Turks and if did he really return to resume the government. Finally if the surrender has not perhaps been part of a plan contrived by Theodore who may have thought that if the city was occupied without bloodshed the recovery would be easier.

The adventures of Monemvasia lasted only a few months. Theodore escaped and reached the Peloponnese in order to organize his resistance. He must have found cooperation from the inhabitants of the region of Monemvasia and it was recovered fairly easily thanks to the speed with which the despot acted. By July 1394 only the city of Monemvasia was still in Turkish hands. To press the surrender Theodore asked Venice for help. This time the Turkish threat had diminished and the Serenissima did not refuse. The Venetian galleys were ordered to blockade Monemvasia and the capitulation was achieved "with a profit", as Manuel quotes, because the Byzantines captured

quite a few Turkish soldiers.¹

After the fall of Mamonas the family of Eudaemonoiannis rose in power and in the second decade of the 15th century Nicolaos Eudaemonoiannis is mentioned as the richest and most powerful man in the Peloponnese. This fact leaves no doubts about his excellent relations with the Despot and points to his possible involvement in Mamonas's overthrow, whom he might have succeeded as archon of Monemvasia. His wealth is an indication that the commercial activity continued perhaps in spite of the intervening confusion.²

II . The careers of Photios and of Eudaemonoiannis

During the last years of the 14th century Theodore started negotiating for the sale of Byzantine lands, Corinth in 1397 and later in 1399 the whole of the Byzantine possessions in the Peloponnese, with the exception of Monemvasia, in the area of which he had

¹ ASV, Senato, Misti, 43, fol. 18, 24.VII.1394; Thiriet, Régestes, I, no. 858, p. 203; Funeral Oration, 152-53, l. 16, 158-59, l. 18; Loenertz, Pour l'histoire, 246-47, 249-51.

² It has been assumed, without evidence, that Hosios Leontios of Monemvasia belonged to the family of Palaeologos-Mamonas: Av. Papadopoulos, 'Ο Ἅγιος Λεόντιος Παλαιολόγος Μαμωνᾶς, (1377-1452). Ἡ μὲν Τεταρχῶν Αἰγιαλείας (1620-1940) (Thessaloniki, 1940), 17, 22-26. Cf. PLP nos. 928 and 7296.

settled.¹ The negotiations culminated in the agreement with the Knights of Saint John, to which the inhabitants of Mystras reacted violently obliging the Despot to annul it. Theodore remained in Monemvasia even after the Turkish danger had been averted and Byzantine Morea bought back at least up to 1404.²

In January 1400 Emperor Manuel, leaving the running of the Empire to his nephew John VII, started his long journey to the West. The Empress with their children remained in the Peloponnese during the Emperor's absence, in Theodore's care. In the event of a Turkish advance the Venetians had guaranteed them safe conduct to Venetian territory.³ Since Mystras had already been sold to the Knights of Saint John, the empress settled in the area of Monemvasia where

¹ Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 20-21, 166 n. 93, 168 n. 98, 172 n. 103, 176 n. 107, 177 n. 108; Loenertz, Pour l'histoire, 254-60; C. Maltezou, "Οἱ ἱστορικές περιπέτειες τῆς Κορίνθου στὰ τέλη τοῦ ΙΔ' αἰῶνα," Σύμμεικτα, 3 (1973), 1-26; J. Chrysostomides, "Corinth 1394-97: Some new facts," Βυζαντινά, 7 (1975), 83-110.

² Loenertz, Pour l'histoire, 261-64; Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 22-24, 182 n. 110 and 111. Concerning Vatica, which is mentioned as having been occupied by the Knights of Saint John, one should probably read Vassilopotamo, which could be identified with Skala, Leake, Travels, I, 196.

³ Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, I, 184, 285, II, 365; J.W. Barker, Manuel II Paleologus (1391-1425) A study in late Byzantine Statesmanship (New Brunswick-New Jersey, 1979), 167-71; Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 162 n. 88, 165 n. 90 and 91.

Theodore was.¹

During Manuel's absence three of his children, his son Constantine and two daughters, died in Laconia and Theodore issued an argyroboullon to provide that, under the care of the Metropolitan of Monemvasia Akakios, masses would be held in their memory twice weekly. After his return to the capital in 1405 Manuel issued a chrysobull, by way of thanks to the metropolis of Monemvasia, granting to it the "chora" of Helikovounon with its tower and all its region.² Helikovounon has been identified with present day Daphni, in the plain of Sparta, not very far from Mystras.³ However, apart from the fact that Daphni was called Lykovounon and not Helikovounon, it is certain that the Empress would not settle in the area of

¹ ASV, Senato, Misti, 46, fol. 83^v, 14.V.1403; Thiriet, Régestes, II, no. 1114, p. 39; H. Noiret, Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485 (Paris, 1892), 145.

² Sphrantzes, Grecu, 4 ll. 18-20; P. Schreiner, "Chronologische Untersuchungen zur Familie Kaiser Manuels II," BZ, 63 (1970), 290-93. The arguments of Barker, Manuel II, 475, 494-96, are not clear. The document exists in a 16th century copy in ms Esc.Gr. Σ-I-12. First edition by Miller, Escurial, pp. 65-66. Dölger, Regesten, no. 3307. References from Miklosich-Müller, V, 168-70.

³ Bees, 'Ο 'Ελκόμενος Χριστός, 234 n.4. Lykovounon is found in the chrysobull of 1314 in the limits of the territory of Monemvasia with the plain of Sparta: Miklosich-Müller, V, 160 l. 4.

of Sparta, which was under constant threat, but in a safer district such as the area of Monemvasia, effectively guarded by its ring of castles along the frontiers. The identification with Helika on the western side of the peninsula of Laconiké proposed by the first editor of Manuel's chrysobull, would be more reasonable to accept, since most of the settlements in conservative eastern Laconia have not changed either name nor place.¹ Nearby stands the luxurious five domed church of Geroumana, katholikon of an important monastery. This 12th century monument could, as was already mentioned, be identified with the "imperial and patriarchal monastery" dedicated to Archangel Michael, called "of Kontostephanos", which is known to have existed in the area of Helikovounon and to have been a dependency of the metropolis of Monemvasia, and it may well be that the three royal children were buried in this same monastery.

In the area where the Empress had settled we might also seek the centre of some interesting intellectual activities. At the end of the 14th century

¹ Miller, Escorial, 65. Recently the identification of the town of Helikovounon with the site of Geroumana and of the tower with a remote watch-tower some kilometres away has been proposed: H. Dori, "Πύργος βυζαντινῶν χρόνων" in "Ἐρευνα στὴν Ἐπίδαυρο Λιμνὰ," ΠΑΕ (1982), 382-86. The chrysobull states clearly, however that the tower was inside the town: Miklosich-Müller, V, 169, ll.10-11 and 24-25 and consequently Helikovounon cannot be identified with Geroumana.

it is mentioned that at a monastery in the region of Monemvasia there was an important school run by "Akakios the Elderly", where, among other subjects, foreign languages including the Slavonic were taught. It is tempting to identify the monastery of Kontostephanos which depended upon Akakios then metropolitan of Monemvasia with the centre of these activities. The importance of this activity was proved by a number of prominent personalities in the early 15th century who were educated in Monemvasia.¹

Photios, who became metropolitan of Russia was educated in Monemvasia in the school which functioned under the auspices of Akakios, where he learned the slavonic languages. His precise date of birth is unknown but must be placed before 1378.² In 1408 he was promoted to the particularly important and rich

¹ A.-E. Tachiaos, "The Testament of Photius Monembasiotes, Metropolitan of Russia (1408-1431): Byzantine Ideology in the XVth century Muscovy," Cyrrillomethodianum, 8-9 (1984-85), 105; N. Sabatin, "Φώτιος," XHE; M. Theocharis, "Ὁ μητροπολίτης Ρωσίας Φώτιος καὶ ὁ λειτουργικὸς σάκος του," Lectures by Monemvasiotikos Homilos, Monemvasia, August 1984.

² XHE; H. Beyer, manuscript notes for "Photius" to appear in PLP, kindly offered before publishing. He must have been older than 30 years when he was ordained a bishop. Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 3282.

metropolitan See of "Kiev and all Russia". He was ordained in September of the same year and arrived in Russia the following year. He remained in office until 1433. In Russia Photios showed a remarkable activity for which he was proclaimed a saint of the Russian Church. With great zest he worked for its unity. He also played an important political role which is reflected in his efforts to reconcile the various contenders for the hegemony of Russia and to increase the influence of Byzantium. In a letter addressed to him from Monemvasia, Isidore expresses the esteem and admiration that he and his colleagues felt for his achievements, noting among other things that he helped the ruler of Russia with his courage at a moment of great need. The letter could refer to the journey Photios made from Kiev to Moscow, where he arrived on the 22 March 1410 to take care of the repairs necessary after the damage the Metropolis had suffered. At that time he also carried out talks with the ruler of Russia Vassili during which he arranged the marriage of co-Emperor John VIII with Vassili's daughter Anna.¹

¹ Tachiaos, Photius, 88-91, 96, 104-05, 107; XHE; Beyer; M. Theocharis; W. Regel, Analecta Byzantinorussica (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. XLIX-L, 69-71; Schreiner, Chronologische Untersuchungen, 294. Cf. V. Laurent, "Le Trisépiscopat du Patriarche Matthieu 1er," REB, 30(1972), 57.

Photios also displayed important social activity in the rather primitive Russian society. It was thanks to his efforts that marriage within the church was established in Russia.¹ Widely cultured, himself a writer of religious works, he showed great interest in enriching the Metropolis with various literary works. Some of the manuscripts he presented to Moscow and Kiev still survive.² To him belonged also two important treasures of the Russian Church, his two liturgical sakkoi. The one, embroidered in gold, is a masterpiece of Byzantine craftsmanship. It was embroidered in the Capital and presented to the Metropolis of Russia by the young imperial couple whose marriage Photios had arranged.³

Photios made generous contributions to the Patriarchate of Constantinople as well as to other foundations in the Capital.⁴ Isidore's laudatory words ,

¹ XHE; M. Theocharis.

² Vat. Gr. 394; Vat. Gr. 717; Ms. 284 in the collection of the National Historical Museum, Moscow and ГИМ 284: Mercati, Isidoro, 65 n.3; B.L. Fonkić, "Greceskaja rukopis mitropolita Fotija," Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Rukopisnaja kniga (Moscow, 1972), 189-95; Beyer.

³ M. Theocharis. Apparently the text of the Creed which is embroidered in the sakkos was used to correct the text used by the Russian Church 250 years later.

⁴ Tachiaos, Photius, 89 and n. 59.

judging from contemporary Russian sources, are not mere flattery. "...one praised your self-esteem, another your mildness, another your leniency and the harmony of your character, still another your seriousness and the shrewdness of your sagacity..."¹

The comments Isidore made about Photios could apply to another Monemvasiot, who already has been mentioned, Nicolaos Eudaemonoiannis. He too had friendly relations with Isidore, a letter of whose to him still exists. Even though he handled ecclesiastical matters also, his main activities were political. He too had an excellent education, knew foreign languages and was, up to his death in 1423, a most competent diplomat in the service of Emperor Manuel and his son, Despot Theodore II.²

His date of birth is unknown. He is first mentioned in 1406-07, when he dedicated to a church in the region an Epitaphios embroidered possibly in Mystras.³

¹ Regel, 69, ll. 22-25. In spite of the fact that Photios never held the See of Monemvasia its Synodikon includes him among the prelates enumerated: Laurent, Synodikon, 132, ll. 11-15.

² A.W. Ziegler, "Die restlichen vier unveröffentlichten Briefe Isidors von Kiev," OCP, 18 (1952) 139-40.

³ Pauline Johnstone, The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery (London, 1967), 77, 121.

The inscription which gives the date mentions a wife and children of his. It has been accepted that it was dedicated on the occasion of the assumption of the rule of the Peloponnese by the young Despot Theodore II. However the mournful image of the Epitaphios with the troparion of Good Friday surrounding it would rather point to the possibility of it having been dedicated on a more sad occasion, as was the death of Theodore I in June 1407.¹

Theodore I was succeeded after his death by his nephew and namesake, Manuel's son. Born in the last years of the 14th century he was still a boy at the time and even though he had already spent a few years in the Peloponnese, it was obviously impossible for him to rule single-handed, particularly as he had to face the constant revolts of the local archons. The Emperor hastened to the Peloponnese in order to ^{consolidate} ~~solidify~~ his son's rule in November 1407.² During his stay

¹ The troparion of Good Friday runs along the border ending with the inscription "Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Νικολάου τοῦ Εὐδαιμονοῦ Ἰωάννου ἅμα καί συμβίῳ καί τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ ἀμήν. Ἔτους ,στ' κτε' Ἰνδικτιῶνος τε'": Johnstone, Embroidery (London, 1967), 121-22 and picture 99. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, I, 246, II, 387; Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 25 n. 55, 230 n. 154.

² (Isidore), "Πανηγυρικός εἰς Μανουήλ καί Ἰωάννην Παλαιολόγους," Παλαιολόγεια καί Πελοποννησιακά, III, 164-65; Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 30 n. 10, 31, 244 n. 161.

he entrusted an experienced person with the guidance of the young Despot. The person who undertook this duty up to Manuel's following visit to the Peloponnese in 1415 is not mentioned by the sources.¹ In the satire, however, "Descent to Hades", written by Mazaris in 1414-15, the hero is urged to find his luck in the Peloponnese by securing the favours and protection of the mightiest and most influential and richest person in the Peloponnese, none else than Eudaemoniannis. "Besides...all other blessings (εὐδαιμονία) of that land, you will get acquainted with that most competent and profoundly gentle man, appropriately called Eudaimon. He is powerful, he is rich, he controls many interests and he has an authority which none of the dignitaries in the court of the Imperial Prince can rival. When you have met this eminent person, stick to him and carry out his commands as you would the Emperor's...Keep telling him this story, that within a short time he is going to be the richest, the noblest, the most celebrated of all the inhabitants of that country..."²

¹ Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 166, 348; Barker, Manuel II, 276 n. 133. Cf. V. Laurent, ed. Les "Mémoires" du Grand Ecclésiarche de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439) (Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et Scriptores, B IX) (Rome, 1971), p. 105 n. 8 and 9.

² Mazaris, Journey to Hades or Interviews with deadmen about certain officials of the Imperial Court, eds., J.N. Barry, M.J. Share, A. Smithies, L. G. Westerink (Buffalo, 1975), pp. 8-9, 11. 13-24. Cf. E. Trapp, "Zur Identifizierung der Personen in der Hades des Mazaris," JÖB, 18 (1969), 97.

Mazaris's satire does not leave much doubt as to who ruled in 1414 along with the young Despot and gives two aspects of the character of Eudaemonoiannis. He was "most competent" and "gentle man" but on the other hand he was vain and prone to flattery. An important and rather surprising piece of information concerning him is found in the subscription of a manuscript which belonged to him. The scribe notes in 1415-16 that the book was written at the expense and with the care of the most glorious and beloved "συμπενθερός" of the Emperor, kyr Nicolaos Eudaemonoiannis.¹ According to this information his ambitions were fulfilled in the best possible way with his close relationship to the Emperor. If it was really so, the wedding of one of his children to one of the Emperor's must have taken place after 1414, otherwise Mazaris would not have failed to hint at it, and before 1416, when the note on the manuscript was written. It is noteworthy that during his mission in Constance in 1416, Eudaemonoiannis is called "brother to the

¹ G. de Andrés, Catalogo de los Codices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial, III (Madrid, 1967), p. 26, ms Ψ. II. 5, fol. 266^v: "Εγράφη τό παρόν βιβλίον διά συνδρομῆς/ καί ἐπιμελείας τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου καί περιποθήτου/ συμπενθεροῦ τοῦ ἀγίου τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Νικολάου/ τοῦ Εὐδαιμονοιω(άνν)ου· χειρί δέ Στεφάνου τοῦ/ Συναδηνοῦ καί ἄρχοντος τῶν κοντακίων τῆς ἀγιωτάτης/ τοῦ θ(ε)οῦ μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίᾱ(ας) καί δομεστίκου Λακεδαιμονίας· ἐν ἔτει ,στγκη' ἰνδ..." . Cf. G. Mercati, Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti (Studi e Testi, 56) (Vatican City, 1931), 478-80, esp. 479 n. 3.

Emperor".¹ In any case if he was so powerful, energetic and wealthy Manuel would have every reason to favour such a relationship with him, but it is difficult to define it more precisely. Three children of Eudaemoniannis are mentioned in the sources, although he may have had more, a daughter married to the son of Paul Asan, father-in-law of Despot Demetrios Palaeologos, and two sons, Andronikos and George, who later was granted the office of mesazon, when Constantine Palaeologos became despot of the Peloponnese.² Of the marriages of his sons nothing is known, but as has been noted, the daughters of Manuel had died very young before 1405. Another known daughter of his, illegitimate, had been married to the Genoese Hilario Doria.³

To seek the link in the marriage of an unknown daughter of Eudaemoniannis to one of the Emperor's

¹ R.-J. Loenertz, "Les Dominicains Byzantins Théodore et Antoine Chrysobergés et les négociations pour l'Union des Églises Grecque et Latine de 1415 à 1430," Byzantina et Franco-Graeca, II, 95 n. 2.

² Sathas, Documents Inédits, I, 117-18; Zakythinos, Depotat, I, 195, 228; Thiriet, Régestes, II, no. 1833, p. 193; Loenertz, Les Dominicains, 98; Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos, Bonn, 33; PLP, nos. 6221, 6223.

³ Barker, Manuel II, 158, 474-75; Schreiner, Chronologische Untersuchungen, 290-93.

sons would mean to exclude John the eldest, who was married at the time to Anna of Russia. Theodore married at the age of 25 Cleopa Malatesta.¹ Despite the silence of the sources it is possible that this marriage was not the first and that another marriage to a daughter of Eudaemonoianis had preceded it. The fact that around 1415 Eudaemonoianis had such close relationship with the Despot and was so influential would support such a view. In this case Eudaemonoianis's daughter must have died before 1417, when the marriage to Cleopa was arranged.² It has been suggested that Eudaemonoianis is called a *συμπενθερός* in the manuscript because he was in loco parentis to Cleopa Malatesta and Sophie of Montferrat, when he accompanied them to Byzantium. But the arrangement of the marriages took place a few years after the manuscript was written.³ The only other of the Emperor's sons who could have married a daughter of Eudaemonoianis is Andronikos, who in 1415 was around 15. It is known that he was married and had a son who is

¹ Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 188-89, 351-52; Nicol, 1261-1453, 346.

² It could have been a betrothal, the actual marriage not having taken place. Cf. A. Laiou, "Ὁ θεσμός τῆς μνηστείας στό δέκατο τρίτο αἰώνα," Ἀφιέρωμα στό Νῆκο Σβορώνο, I (Rethymnon, 1986), p. 284.

³ Mazaris, eds. Barry etc, 101. Cf. Mercati, Notizie, 478-80, Loenertz, Les Dominicains, 95. The marriage was arranged in 1417 and the manuscript was written in 1415, when at least Anna of Russia was still alive.

mentioned in 1423 , but nowhere is his wife mentioned.¹

In August 1415 after the death of Manuel Chrysoloras Nicolaos Eudaemonoiannis departed heading the Greek delegation to Constance. Possibly it was not his first visit there.² On his way, in February 1416, he discussed in Venice the question of the defence of the Isthmus, where the fortification works under the personal supervision of the Emperor, had just been completed. In Venice Nicolaos also offered to mediate on behalf of the Emperor for peace with the Hungarians.³ The Greek delegation reached Constance on the 25th of March 1416. An eye-witness noted the presence of an emissary of the Emperor of Greece, "a brother of his".⁴ Eudaemonoiannis was accompanied by his son Andronikos. He did not stay in Constance only, but together with another imperial delegate, Manuel

¹ J. Tsaras, "La fin d'Andronic Paléologue dernier despote de Thessalonique," RESEE, 3 (1965), 431.

² Loenertz, Syropoulos, 104-105; Dölger, Regesten, 3345; Loenerts, Les Dominicains, 94-100.

³ Thiriet, Régestes, II, no. 1599, p. 140, Dölger, Regesten, nos. 3354, 3355.

⁴ Loenertz, Les Dominicains, 95 n. 2.

Philanthropenos, visited several European countries and met various rulers in an effort to arouse their interest in the growing Turkish threat and to form and consolidate friendships and alliances. Some of these journeys apparently took place while the Council was still in progress, for it was long drawn out and the Greek delegation grew impatient.¹ In a letter written to Eudaemonoiannis during this mission Isidore follows his wanderings in Western Europe, from Venice to Constance and thence to Paris, for talks with the king of France, afterwards to Britain and finally to Spain. This letter must have been written after the summer 1416 and before 1417 when Pope Martin was enthroned, because there is no reference to the honour shown to Nicolaos by the audience granted to him soon after Pope Martin's accession.²

After Constance, in 1417, Eudaemonoiannis returned to Byzantium bearing the various documents addressed to the Emperor, his sons and the Patriarch issued by the Pope, concerning the possibility of marriage between the Emperor's sons and Latin princesses and the raising of funds for the defence of the

¹ Laurent, Syropoulos, 104-107; Loenertz, Les Dominicains, passim. One has to note that there is a confusion between Eudaemonoiannis and Philanthropenos in the article: 98-99; Barker, Manuel II, 315, 324-25.

² Ziegler, OCP, 18, pp. 139-40; Laurent, Syropoulos, 104-06; Loenertz, Les Dominicains, 101; V. Laurent, "Les Préliminaires du Concile de Florence, REB 20 (1962), 10-12.

Isthmus.¹ But he returned to the West again, continuing the diplomatic representation of the Emperor in Europe. Passing through Venice he took the opportunity to look into a personal affair. He made arrangements to get the permission to transport 400 planks from Crete to Monemvasia for the needs of a church that he was building there. The permission was granted to him on April 2, 1419.²

The following year he returned to Byzantium accompanying Sophie of Montferrat and Cleopa Malatesta and settled finally in the Peloponnese. Perhaps he was building the church in his native town preparing to settle there.³ In any case he did not stop offering his services to the Despot and the Emperor, whom he represented during the talks with the Venetians in February 1422. On July 22 of the same year Dolfin Venier, delegate from Venice to the Peloponnese, proposed in his report that they should entice Eudaemoniannis and his sons with fiefs in the areas held

¹ Laurent, Syropoulos, 106-111; Loenertz, Les Dominicains, 102-04; Laurent, Les Préliminaires, 12-15; Barker, Manuel II, 315, 325.

² ASV, Senato, Misti, 52, fol. 162; Thiriet, Régestes, no. 1733, p. 174; Iorga, Notes et Extraits, I, 290.

³ Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 189, 351-52; Barker, Manuel II, 327; Nicol, 1261-1453, 346.

by the Venetians, with which apparently the family had ties.¹ The fact that his sons are also mentioned in the report, while at the same time another delegate, Ioannis Bladynteros, is active in the West, is an indication that Eudaemonoiannis, probably tired from his endless journeys or sick, had limited his activities. For twelve years he had traveled constantly to advance the interests of the Empire. He must have been quite old by then. He died presumably in the Peloponnese, on November 1, 1423.²

It must be noted that Eudaemonoiannis was liked by everybody, proof of his extraordinary talents in diplomacy. Apparently he combined energy, business acumen and wide education with a lovable personality. "Oh, how much weariness you have filled us with being away for so long. When, best of men, will we see again that golden head, full of... wisdom", writes Isidore with affection at the beginning of his journeys.³

¹ ASV, Senato, Secreti, 8, fol. 41^V ; Thiriet, Régestes, no. 1833, p. 193, Sathas, Documents Inédits, I, 117-18; Jorga, Notes et Extraits, I, 317; above, p. 222, n. 2.

² Mercati, Notizie, 478 and n. 4, 479.

³ Ziegler, OCP, 18, p. 139, ll. 1-3.

III . Isidore's collection of letters

The important events related to Monemvasia, during the early decades of the 15th century, are reflected in Isidore the monk's letters and other writings. Isidore was an important personage, active, profoundly educated and with many talents. In contrast, however, to Eudaemonoiannis who seems to have had only friends his ambiguous and contradictory temperament brought him many enemies.¹

The exact date of his birth is not known, but can be placed safely in the years around 1390. It is certain that he came from the Peloponnese and that he had a special attachment^h and constant interest in Monemvasia.² However, the sources are persistently silent concerning his origin and this silence has led to various widely differing opinions on it, as e.g. that he came from Thessaloniki or that he was of Slav descent. This silence seems very strange regarding a person whose activities during half a century

¹ His enemies were from the Greek, the Latin, as well as the Russian side and the contrast with Bessarion who had a similar career is striking.

² Isidorus Arch. Kiovensis et totius Russiae, Sermones Inter Concilium Florentinum conscripti, eds. G. Hofmann-E. Candal (Rome, 1971), p. V; PLP, no. 8300, where most of the vast bibliography is collected; J. Gill, Personalities of the Council of Florence and other Essays (Oxford, 1964), 65; Mercati, Isidoro, 12.

covered an area from Crete and the Peloponnese to Russia, and from Constantinople to Rome, who mixed and corresponded with the important people of his time in Byzantium and the West and about whom much has been written.¹ We do not even know his name before he was ordained. The absence of even the slightest hint concerning his descent is striking. It gives rise to the suspicion that the silence might have been imposed, that perhaps there was some family tie which should not be known, that the real reason he was obliged to become a monk at such an early age was the fear that his high descent might kindle ambitions leading to further civil wars. This could, furthermore, have been the reason why Manuel took care and supervised Isidore so closely for some years.²

It is certain that when Manuel arrived in Constantinople from the Peloponnese in June 1403, after his journey to the West, Isidore had either travelled

¹ PG, 159, col. 943; P. Pierling, La Russie et le Saint-Siège, I (Paris, 1896), 7, 94; Regel, XLI; Mercati, Isidoro, 12 n.2.

² It is tempting to speculate on a possible identification of Isidore with one of the mysterious bastard sons of Theodore I, whose traces cannot be found anywhere: Chalkokondyles, Darkò, I, 194; ASV, Senato, Misti, 44, fol. 133^v; Thiriet, Régestes, II, no. 972, p. 224; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 165.

with him or had preceded him there. In the capital and not in Monemvasia like Photios and Eudaemonoiannis, Isidore, who had much talent and unusual intelligence, had the chance to receive an education equivalent to his abilities, which nourished his love of literature, particularly the Greek classics and science, especially astronomy.¹ He started early transcribing and devotedly collecting manuscripts and exchanging them with his friends, the intellectuals with whom he shared in Constantinople the tutoring of illustrious teachers like John Chrysoloras. It must have been there that he was taught the principles of systematic research which later helped him in his polemic, both theological and general. In the reports that he wrote on behalf of the metropolitan of Monemvasia the methodical collection of his evidence from original documents without any mistake or intervention is impressive. Later he collected and transcribed in an admirable way the Minutes from various Oecumenical Councils.²

In Constantinople Isidore cooperated with Emperor Manuel, copying the Epitaphios, both the draft

¹ Gill, Personalities, 65; Pierling, 7-8; Mercati, Isidoro, *passim*. Cf. D. Pingree ed., Albumasaris de revolutionibus nativitatum (Bibliotheca Teubneriana: Leipzig, 1968), X-XI.

² Mercati, Isidoro, 8-10; Binon, EO, 37, pp. 287-88; Otto Kresten, Eine Sammlung von Konzilakten aus dem Besitze des Kardinals Isidors von Kiev (Vienna, 1976), 109-10, with an interesting comparison of Isidore and Bessarion.

and the final version and must have shared his emotion during the composition of the work. Shortly before the second anniversary of the death of Theodore, Isidore, already a monk, arrived in the Peloponnese carrying the text of the Epitaphios to be read during the commemorative ceremony in Mystras, following which he settled in Laconia, apparently according to plan.¹ A collection of works by Isidore, fourteen letters and four benedictions, written during the first decade after he settled in the Peloponnese, is contained in the Greek Manuscript 914 in the Vatican Library. The letters written with ease and economy without superfluous rhetoric, are often charming; they show a particularly fine sense of humour and throw some light on several aspects of his personality and activities.² They are compiled in chronological order and from their contents it can be deduced that they were written between autumn 1409 and roughly 1417. The first six letters were all composed between autumn 1409 and the winter of 1410. The first two are addressed to Guarino of Verona, the third to Neophytos of Medeia, the fourth to Ignatios Chortasmenos, the fifth to the Emperor and finally the sixth to the metropolitan of

¹ Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 29-34, 37; Mercati, Isidoro, 102.

² Mercati, Isidoro, 12-14, 19-25 and passim.

Russia Photios.¹

In his letter to Neophytos, one of his friends with whom he studied together in Constantinople, along with Guarino and Ignatios, he complains that when Neophytos was seeing him off on the ship to the Peloponnese he had given promises to write often and did not keep them. His longing for the times when they were all together and the same stereotyped complaints about the infrequency of their letters he expresses to his other friends also.²

The letter to the Emperor is written at the same time as the one to Chortasmenos, in which it is mentioned.³ It must be assumed that it was written in autumn 1409, shortly after the commemorative mass in Theodore's memory. Isidore excuses himself for his delay in writing saying that the duty was too exacting, particularly after the admiration expressed by everybody for the author of the Funeral Oration and so "his want of art of letters and the fact that he could not at the moment express himself...deprived him of his impetus".⁴ He starts his description from the arrival

¹ Regel, 59-71.

² Regel, 59-61; V. Laurent, "Isidore de Kiev et la Métropole de Monembasie," REB 17 (1959), 151-157.

³ Regel, 65-69. Mention of the same letter in the letter to Chortasmenos: Regel, 64, ll. 27-28.

⁴ Regel, 65, ll. 6-7.

of the ship that brought him from Constantinople to the port of the "Vitylai". The town of Oitylon was further inland. Isidore observes with amazement the uncivilized customs of the inhabitants. Influenced by Homer he expected to find a Greek population and instead he found Slavs. He takes the chance to praise the Emperor's pacifying campaign in the area a year before. He considers it a wonder that after Manuel's efforts the Maniots were persuaded to abandon some of their roughest habits, the killings and the mutilations.¹ From Oitylon Isidore went to Mystras where he arrived before June 24, 1409, anniversary of the Despot's death. The "wing of fame", he writes, had flown ahead of him and everybody was waiting impatiently for his arrival, to see the famous book which contained the text of the Oration. They had to wait though until the day of the ceremony to hear the contents. For the occasion everybody came to the gathering, the Despot, the Metropolitan, the archons, the clergy, the "demos". It was decided that the reading of the Oration should precede the mass and the "bearer" was asked to read the Epitaphios of the Emperor for his brother. Isidore had his objections because, as he writes, he considered it more proper for someone else to do the reading, without explaining whom he meant or why. He obeyed anyway when he was ordered by the Despot and started reading up to the middle, from

¹ Regel, 65, ll. 22-31, 66, ll. 1-26.

where "that good man Gazes" carried on. Isidore in his description carefully hides how much he was moved, as well as the emotion caused to the audience and only mentions Gazes's who started reading quietly and steadily and gradually got carried away, followed by the audience who started seeing the Despot saving the Peloponnesians from the barbaric domination, while "they shed many tears". The description of the ceremony ends here and the letter closes with praises to the Emperor.¹

Shortly after this extraordinary event "just as autumn succeeded summertime", i.e. in September 1409, Isidore fell ill, victim of the plague that harassed the Peloponnese until the following summer.² His illness is described to his friend Guarino of Verona, from whom he had been expecting impatiently two letters, which he had just received. In reply he also wrote two letters. He complains, as with his other correspondents, about the infrequency of their letters. In his first letter he relates with remarkable care all the cities through which Guarino went on his way back to Italy, when he left Constantinople in 1407. One could say that a certain envy can be discerned

¹ Regel, 66, ll. 27-32, 67, ll. 1-30. Mercati, Isidoro, 102-03; Chrysostomides, Funeral Oration, 29, 232 n. 155.

² Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, 394-95.

for his friend's visit to these wonderful cities, while he was confined in the Peloponnese. His great interest in books, not only to study but also to collect and transcribe, is evident in both letters. He sends Guarino some Greek manuscripts and planned for another despatch in spring 1410. He was expecting some books from him in Latin and particularly his favourite horoscopes and the delay prompted the second letter.¹ His love for astronomy is not an isolated case, on the contrary it seems to have been very much in vogue among certain circles. Mazaris, for example, in his satire mentions a certain person who "could not ease himself without consulting the astrolabe".²

Isidore shared his interest for astronomy with Ioannis Ignatios Chortasmenos, later metropolitan of Selymbria, to whom one letter is addressed also written at the same period as the previous ones, in autumn 1409. In it, along with his usual complaints for the scarcity of letters, he gives some details on his settlement in Laconia and his constant travels within the area. "And now in Epidauros, now in Sparta, another time from one town to another like runners we

¹ Regel, 58-61, 61-62. R. Sabbadini, Guarino Veronese e il suo epistolario edito e inedito (Salerno, 1885), p. 55.

² "τοῦ καὶ εἰς ἀπόπατον ἄνευ διαγνώσεως ἀστρολάβου μὴ ἀπερχομένου", Mazaris, eds. Barry, etc., p. 38, ll. 19-20, identified with Matthaios Chrysokephalos, pp. 109-10.

were obliged to run".¹

The last letter in this group is the one addressed to metropolitan Photios, which has already been mentioned, containing the flattering words for his attempts to pacify his diocese. It could have been written in 1410. As in other letters Isidore complains about the letters that he does not receive from Photios, with whom he had been together in Constantinople between 1407 and 1408 and most probably before that in Monemvasia.²

Time passed and Isidore occupied himself with various duties and came in contact with people living in Laconia. His interests began gradually to be satisfied, while at the same time he overcame his nostalgia for Constantinople and the circle of his friends there.

In the manuscript after the group of the six first letters comes a group of four "εὐχές", followed by the remaining eight letters. The last of the four εὐχές is a "εὐχή ἐπιβατήρειος εἰς τὴν πόλιν Μονεμβασίαν", in other words a kind of blessing which the newly

¹ Regel, 64 and ll. 20-21. On Chortasmenos: H. Hunger, Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37) (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, VII) (Vienna, 1969), esp. 13-19.

² Regel, 69-71.

appointed bishop used to deliver before the city gates "when he first meant to enter".¹ Shortly after 1410 a new metropolitan of Monemvasia was elected, Cyril whom the Synodicon of Monemvasia highly praises.² Isidore who did not hold any office at the time prepared the texts that Cyril needed during his years of service and accompanied him on his journeys. The blessing must be one of the first texts that Isidore composed for Cyril, immediately after his election. The other three, which are addressed to the Emperors and the Despot, must have been commissioned at the same time to be delivered with the first before the city gates. From the text of the blessings it can be deduced that the election of Cyril took place around 1411.³ He must have arrived in his diocese soon and delivered then the first addresses prepared for him by Isidore. For his flock he wished that they remained inaccessible to the barbarians, showing the anxiety for the nearing Turkish threat.⁴

¹ Mercati, Isidoro, 10 n.1.

² Below, 6 VIII.

³ A.W. Ziegler, "Unveröffentlichte Gebete Isidors von Kijev," OCP, 21 (1955), 327-334.

⁴ Nicol, 1261-1453, 341-42.

In the Vaticanus Graecus 914 after the blessings follow eight letters. The first is addressed to some person in Patras, the next two and probably the third as well, to Despot Theodore II, the next to Nicolaos Eudaemonoiannis, the following to Theodore again. The last two to a certain sakellarios Michael (or Michael Sakellarios) and possibly to Theodore II again.¹

The first letter contains the only known hint of the existence of a relative of Isidore's. The letter mentions that he lived in Patras and had sent him from there letters, brought by Kavakes. This time Isidore receives the complaints that he has not answered, overlooking friendship and kinship and behaving haughtily. He excuses himself saying that it is not his fault but of those entrusted with bearing the letters and announces that he intends to go there in the following January. A person coming from Monemvasia who might have been connected to Isidore and his circle is Joachim, metropolitan of Patras at the beginning of the 15th century, known for the care he took to transport the relics of Hōsios Leontios of

¹ A.W. Ziegler, "Vier bisher nicht veröffentlichte griechische Briefe Isidors von Kijev," *BZ*, 44 (1951), 570-77; A.W. Ziegler, "Die restlichen vier unveröffentlichten Briefe Isidors von Kijev," *OCP*, 18 (1952), 135-42; D.A. Zakythinos, "Μανουήλ Β' ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ὁ καρδινάλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ," *Mélanges Merlier* (Athens, 1955), III, 45-69.

Monemvasia.¹ However, Patras still belonged to the Franks and the orthodox metropolitan was not installed in the city, which had a Latin archbishop, and possibly the person to whom the letter is addressed was not a clergyman.² The letter could have been written in 1414. The intention of the Emperor Manuel to come to the Peloponnese was already known and Isidore just like other prominent Peloponnesians might have planned to meet the Emperor in Corinth and to combine a visit to Patras. But it is not known whether his journey to Northern Peloponnese was realized.³

In the two letters addressed to the Despot, Isidore, encouraged by his closeness to him, mediates with persistence for the relief of the inhabitants of the town of Helikovounon from an extraordinary tax. They did not have herds of sheep or swine or other cattle, he writes, their only agricultural occupation was wine growing and their produce had been destroyed.⁴ It is known that after Manuel's visit to the

¹ Ziegler, BZ, 44, pp. 574-75. On Joachim PLP, no. 8370; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, no. 9/47, I, 98; II, 382-83.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 288-89.

³ Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 167-75, 349-50.

⁴ Ziegler, BZ, 44, pp. 575-76; Zakythinos, Mélanges Merlier, 10-11 and BZ, 44, p. 576; Mélanges Merlier, 11-12.

Peloponnese in 1415-16 a tax was levied, the phloriatikon, for the defense of the Isthmus, which caused many reactions even the rebellion of some Peloponnesian archons during the construction.¹ It has been assumed that it is from this tax that Isidore tries to relieve the Helikovounites and his interest arose from the fact that their town had been ceded to the metropolitan of Monemvasia in whose service Isidore was then. He himself resided in the monastery of Kontostephanos nearby and had even composed a mass for the Archangel Michael to whom the monastery was dedicated.² One of the letters is accompanied by a leather purse containing Indian perfumes with instructions for their use. This present, which was obviously to cajole the Despot, reveals another side of Isidore's personality, his love for the luxurious and the exotic, which appears in several of his notes found in codices of his library.³

The following letter must also have been addressed to the Despot. The style is rather angry, because

¹ Mazaris, eds. Barry etc, XXVI-XXVIII; Barker, Manuel II, 317 and n. 31; Zakythinos, Despotat, 170-71, II, 238-40, identifies it with the "floriatikon".

² On the monastery above pp. 79, 214. On Isidore's relation and visits: Mercati, Isidoro, 22, 30-31, 56.

³ Mercati, Isidoro, e.g. 33 and passim.

apparently despite his appeals the tax was still being demanded. "Why do you try to change the order of things?", he writes.¹ This letter may have brought some result since, after the following letter addressed to Eudaemonoiannis towards the end of 1416, Isidore wrote again to the Despot. This time the tone has changed, the letter is pleasant and charming. It is accompanied by a present, a hare caught by the monks (of Kontostephanos?) as he was stealing lettuce from the garden. He is still alive and, writes Isidore, the Despot will render justice. Perhaps the hare was to thank the Despot for the fulfilment of the entreaties on behalf of the Helikovounites.²

Isidore's next letter is also pleasant. It is addressed to a certain Michael, a sakellarios, who was tutor in literature and music to a friend's son called Sofos and is full of the obvious pun on the words for learning wisdom and Sofos.³

It is not certain to whom the last letter is addressed. A co-ruler of the addressee, bringing messages to the Emperor, is mentioned in it. It could be

¹ Ziegler, BZ, 44 p. 577; Zakythinos, Mélanges Merlier, 12.

² Ziegler, OCP, 18, pp. 140-41; cf. Mercati, Isidoro, 22. The letter to Eudaemonoiannis: Ziegler, OCP, 18, p. 139-40; Zakythinos, Mélanges Merlier, 8-9.

³ Ziegler, OCP, 18, pp. 141-42; cf. Mercati, Isidoro, 22.

addressed to Theodore, in which case the co-ruler would be Eudaemonoiannis, who brought on his return from the West in 1417 various communications to Manuel II.¹

For some years after 1417 Isidore's activities are not known. Apparently he divided his time between Monemvasia, where he helped Cyril face his duties, the monastery of Kontostephanos, where he studied and copied manuscripts, and Mystras which he often frequented.² A small scrap of information, which proves his visits to Mystras, is a note of unknown date; he owes 34 floria to the abbot of the monastery of Zoödhotes, the imperial monastery of Mystras, known today as Haghia Sophia, and 27 floria to the goldsmith Ioannis Eugenikos. Apparently he must have paid the money back because he has crossed out the entries.³

IV . Pro-unionists and anti-unionists in Laconia

In 1416 co-Emperor John VIII was in Lemnos and, while everybody was expecting him to return to Constantinople he made a sudden and somewhat puzzling

¹ Ziegler, OCP, 18, p. 142.

² Mercati, Isidoro, passim.

³ Mercati, Isidoro, 52 n. 1.

journey to the Peloponnese. During his stay there he arranged for the transport to Lemnos of the pretender to the Turkish rule Mustapha, who was being held by the Emperor in Monemvasia. It is not clear what the reason was for this move. After traveling through the Peloponnese, John arrived at the port of Kenchreai from where he sailed for Constantinople.¹ The Panygyric, written by Isidore in honour of Manuel II and John VIII, states that the co-Emperor cooperated in the Peloponnese with his brother Theodore on various matters. But the Despot did not share his imperial brother's ideas for the Union of the Churches and around him was formed a circle, which was against the Union, whereas a circle of literati, among them Isidore, was created around the philosopher Plethon, whose ideas influenced most of them. Some of them later led the efforts for the Union of Churches after being promoted to important posts in the civil and ecclesiastical administration.²

An important dispute during this period, which started from ecclesiastical matters, could be considered as an expression of the differences between the

¹ (Isidore), Πανηγυρικός, 116-21, 171; Anonymous, "Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μανουὴλ καὶ Ἰωάννην Ἡ' Παλαιολόγους," Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, III, 214; Sphrantzes, Grecu, 12, Doucas, Bonn, 147-48; Nicol, 1261-1453, 347-48, 353, 369.

² (Isidore), Πανηγυρικός, 174; C.M. Woodhouse, George Gemistos Plethon. The last of the Hellenes (Oxford, 1986), 32-38, 100-101, 128-29.

two groups. The question arose in 1418-19, when a new bishop was ordained for the See of Maina, who under the protection of the Metropolitans of Lacedaemonia, Corinth and Patras, displayed for seven years an attitude so markedly defiant that it caused reactions from the inhabitants and the clergy and even from his relatives, who appealed to the Patriarch and the Emperor himself. The Metropolitan of Monemvasia, in whose jurisdiction Maina was, also made addresses to the Patriarch, but everything was of no avail. The Patriarch, instead of reprimanding the culprit, rebuked the Metropolitan of Monemvasia, who was obliged to go to the capital and elucidate the situation to him and a report was written by Isidore on this occasion. After his punishment the bishop of Maina tried to enforce the Synodical decision of 1397 and transfer his See to the jurisdiction of Corinth. A second report was written by Isidore in 1427-28, on behalf of the Metropolitan of Monemvasia where all the events are exposed.¹

The ecclesiastical controversy, which in the meantime had grown, might have been one of the reasons for another visit of John VIII to the Peloponnese after his marriage with Maria Komnene of Trebizond in .

¹ Lampros, NE 12 (1915), 257-318; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 274-75, 292-93; below, ch. 6 VIII.

September 1427. On the other hand some difficulties had arisen with the Latin neighbours, as well as among the Palaeologoi themselves. During the last part of his journey to the Peloponnese, to the Isthmus and the wall of Hexamilion, which had been destroyed by the Turks in 1423, the Emperor was accompanied by Isidore, who may have followed him afterwards to the Capital, along with metropolitan Cyril.¹

In Constantinople the Metropolitan and Isidore aimed once more at averting the threat of the subordination of Maina to Corinth. Most probably with the Emperor's aid the Metropolitan of Monemvasia was justified and the dispute ended. A sigillion from the Patriarch and a chrysobull by the Emperor issued in 1428-29 confirmed all previous privileges.² There is an interesting note in the codex containing the autograph drafts for his two reports, where Isidore lists his belongings, which he left behind at "καταφύγιον", locked and sealed in a small chest. One could identify "καταφύγιον" with a ruined fort in Western Lakoniké, near present day Daemonia, in the area where the

¹ Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 200-07; Nicol, 1261-1453, 364-65; Zakythinos, Mélanges Merlier, 14-20.

² Below, ch. 6 VIII.

the monastery of Kontostephanos and Helikovounon were, called Καταφύγι, although it is possible that Isidore meant just a hiding place.¹

Isidore set out for the return journey alone on 15 September 1429. This journey was adventurous. When the ship was off the shore of the Peloponnese, not far from Melos, a storm broke out and it got carried away to the western side of the peninsula. They came in sight of Modon but the Sicilian merchants on board refused to agree to go nearer, fearing a pirate ship, which the admiral in the Hellespont had cautioned them against and which was stationed there attacking all ships that approached. After quarrels and taking into consideration the night and the weather, with Isidore's consent, they continued on the way to Sicily. They reached Syracuse on the 25th of September. Isidore kept detailed notes with catalogues of the important cities. The unexpected detour does not seem to have displeased him.²

After his return to the Peloponnese at the end of 1429 Isidore addressed a letter to Emperor John VIII.

¹ Mercati, Isidoro, 40. Cf. n. 1, where he proposes the identification with a place in Mani. Waterhouse-Hope Simpson, *Prehistoric Laconia*, II, 140.

² Mercati, Isidoro, 13, 58-59, 103, 151-54.

The familiarity with which he writes is impressive. Of course he had proven his abilities during the service of Cyril and must have been considered among the close assistants of the Emperor. The letter must have been written before the Turkish raid at Hexamili in spring 1431, about which no hint is made.¹ At approximately the same time, more precisely after August 1430 and before spring 1431, Isidore wrote another long letter, in which he explains an old Delphic oracle concerning the Isthmus. The letter is addressed to the "φιλολογωτάτη δεσποινῶν". This person has been identified with Cleopa Malatesta, who had great interest in literature. However, the wife of a despot did not bear the title of despoina but of basilissa and Cleopa was called basilissa by the literati of Mystras in their funeral orations after her death.² On the other hand despoina was the title of the Emperor's wife and we must assume that the letter was addressed to the Empress Maria of Trebizond. This may be an indication that the newly wed Maria had followed her husband on his journey to the Peloponnese in 1427-28

¹ Mercati, Isidoro, 26-27, 103; Zakythinos, Mélanges Merlier, 14-16.

² Mercati, Isidoro, 34-36; Zakythinos, Mélanges Merlier, 16-19; Παλαιολόγια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, IV, 54-160; Ps. Kodinos, Verpeaux, 307.

and that during their visit to Corinth accompanied by the learned Isidore she got interested in the oracle. It is also possible that more discussions on this topic followed in Constantinople and this letter was a sequel to them. It is furthermore possible that it was written together with the letter to the Emperor. In any case these two letters are the last evidence of Isidore's stay in the Peloponnese. Chronologically the next information concerning him is in March 1433, by which time he had already left the Morea and settled in the monastery of Saint Demetrios in Constantinople. The first important mission outside the boundaries of Byzantium was entrusted to Isidore in October of the same year, when he was appointed one of the three members of the Byzantine delegation at the Council of Basel. This was the starting point for his new career which lasted thirty years.¹

In Laconia in the meantime, in 1433, the basilissa Cleopa Malatesta, who had been very dear to the circle of intellectuals at Mystras, died. A number of monodies were written in her praise, one of them by Bessarion, who had apparently followed his tutor

¹ Mercati, Isidoro, 103 and passim. For his activities after 1433: Hofmann-Candal, Isidorus, V-VI; Gill, Personalities, 76-78.

Dositheos, formerly of Trebizond to the Peloponnese when in 1430-31 he was ordained metropolitan of Monemvasia.¹ Another person who, as we shall see, had ties with Monemvasia, makes his first appearance with a monody in memory of the basilissa, Cheilas.²

The port of Monemvasia saw in 1437 some unusual activity. Ciriaco Pizzicoli arrived there from Kythera. He was interested solely in Epidaurus Limera, "quam antiquissimam civitatem veteres Monembasiam dicunt", to which, however, he dedicated in 12 July 1437 only a few words and a drawing of the city-walls, without mentioning any of the inscriptions.³ (pl.11) At the end of the same year the emperor and the delegation to the Council for the Union of Churches set out for Italy through Modon and possibly also Monemvasia. Among the members of the delegation was the metropolitan of Monemvasia Dositheos.⁴ Isidore, who in the meantime had been ordained metropolitan of Kiev, travelled

¹ Lampros, Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, IV, 18', 1', 54-160; Gudrun Schmalzbauer, "Eine bisher unedierte Monodie auf Kleope Palaiologina von Demetrios Pepagomenos," JÖB, 20 (1971), 223-43; Laurent, EO, 32, pp. 152-54.

² Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, IV, 1στ'-1ζ', 144-52.

³ P.E.W. Bodnar, Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens, (Collection Latomus XLIII) (Brussels, 1960), p.47.

⁴ Fl. Evangelatou-Notara, "Ἡ Μεθώνη, σταθμός στὰ ταξίδια βυζαντινῶν αὐτοκρατόρων στὴ Δύση," Πελοποννησιακά, 16 (1986), 97-107; Laurent, Syropoulos, 201-209.

independently through central Europe to Italy to support the Union.¹

After the Union had been proclaimed at Florence, great confusion followed the return of John VIII from Italy to the Capital in 1440 and feelings ran high.² Concerning these problems Isidore wrote a report to the Pope in 1443, when, after many adventures he returned to Italy and joined the Papal court. He proposed, among other measures that a legate should be sent to the Peloponnese, who could exercise pressure on the Despots to accept the Union, while the Patriarch Gregory III was visiting there. The legate could then proceed to Constantinople to continue his efforts.³ Isidore himself undertook the mission and arrived in the Peloponnese at the beginning of 1445. His short visit, however, does not seem to have brought any significant results. It is unknown if he visited Monemvasia. In the summer of 1445 he was back again in Rome.⁴

¹ J. Krajcar, "Metropolitan Isidore's journey to the Council of Florence. Some remarks," OCP, 38 (1972), 367-80.

² Nicol, 1261-1453, 376-78.

³ Hofmann-Candal, Isidorus, 93-94.

⁴ Hofmann-Candal, Isidorus, V.

Amid the disputes the latent Turkish threat re-emerged. Constantine Palaeologos, who was in the Peloponnese, provided for the immediate repairs of the walls of Hexamilion.¹ The Monemvasiotes decided to carry out fortification works in order to improve their defences. They asked Despot Theodore II to issue a horismos which would provide for the gathering of the necessary funds. It was issued in December 1442.²

The horismos begins without a prooimion by mentioning that the Monemvasiotes asked the Despot to restore a measure which had formerly existed concerning the disposal of the proceeds from the aviotikion, accruing from those who died heirless and intestate.³ It continues by regulations for the inheritance of those who die, with or without will, but leaving close relatives as heirs, and then of those who die without close relatives. In this last case only two thirds of the

¹ Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 226. One should mention an argyroboullon of doubtful genuineness, issued by despot Constantine Palaeologos for Demetrios Mamonas Gregoras, granting a house in Helos and a tower in Priniko, preserved in a late copy: Miklosich-Müller, III, 258; Meliarakes, 38-40.

² From ms Kutlunus 220, fols. 190^V-191^R. First edition by Lampros, Παρυασσός, 7 (1883), 472-73. References in the text from Miklosich-Müller, V, 174-75.

³ Miklosich-Müller, V, 174, ll. 1-9.

estate can be bequeathed to the distant relatives or can be disposed of in other lawful ways. The remaining one third, it is decreed, will be collected for the kastron. In the event of the absence of even distant relatives the whole of the deceased's estate will be disposed of for the benefit of the kastron.¹

Special tax collectors are provided for to supervise the collection of funds and their use solely for rebuilding, fortification and security of the kastron of Monemvasia, with the knowledge of the kephale of Monemvasia, to render account to him and be controlled by him. They should not, however, allow the proceeds to be used for any other purpose and no amount should be diverted to the vestiariion of the Despot and neither the kephale nor anybody else has the right to receive any amount from these funds.² Furthermore it is stipulated that the fines which are imposed in Monemvasia according to the "old custom and order", which was still in force, should also be collected by the same tax collectors to be used for the kastron. The collectors are obliged to render account for these funds also to the kephale of Monemvasia.³

¹ Miklosich-Müller, V, 174, 11 9-14, 175, 11. 1-2.

² Miklosich-Müller, V, 175, 2-9.

³ Miklosich-Müller, V, 175, 9-14.

Just like the older documents of the emperors and despots concerning the city of Monemvasia, this horismos renewed the force of preexisting privileges, in this case the waiving by the state of certain taxes in favour of Monemvasia. It is, however, the first time that this is stated so clearly. Previously it had only been mentioned that the inhabitants were exempted from the taxation due to the imperial treasury and apparently the taxes continued to be collected for use by the city.¹ The aviotikion, mentioned in the horismos could be identified with the death duties from which the Monemvasiotes were exempted by earlier documents and, as has been mentioned, were still being collected by the city authorities.² The various fines are mentioned for the first time in a document granting privileges to Monemvasia. It is clear from the text of the horismos that this was a preexisting privilege. As a matter of fact the use of fines for the kastron is mentioned, shortly before, in a contract between the Metropolitan of Monemvasia and some peasants

¹ Above, ch. 6, I-II.

² Schreiner, *Προνόμια*, 163-64 M.A. Tourtoglou, "Τό "Αβιωτίκιον". Συμβολή εἰς τό Βυζαντινόν Κληρονομικόν Δίκαιον," *"Ἑέντιον"*, *Festschrift für P.J.Zepos*, I (Athens, 1973), 632-45, esp. 636; E. Vranoussi, "Notes sur quelques institutions du Péloponnèse byzantin," *Études balkaniques*, 14 IV (1978), 81-88.

renting church lands in 1426. The contract, a taboul-
larikon gramma, stipulates that "if either of the two
parties is found a violator, it is liable to be fined...
for the God-protected kastron 10 hyperpera".¹ We must
assume that this older custom was reinforced by the ho-
rismos of 1440, which regulated the use of the money
collected for the fortification works. (Pl. 9-10)

This brief document proves the extent of the works
which were being undertaken in Monemvasia, the rebuild-
ing of the fortifications which had been destroyed (εἰς
ἀνάκτησιν), new constructions (εἰς ὀχύρωσιν), and final-
ly the completion of existing works for more security
(εἰς ἀσφάλειαν).² Obviously the great economic flouri-
shing in the 14th century brought a great increase in
population, which in turn caused the spreading of
the settlement far beyond the older fortifications.
Large tracts of the lower town, which lacked natural
defences, must have remained at that time exposed to
raids, which were becoming more difficult to repel,
due to the invention of gun-powder and the evolution

¹ "Εἰ δέ τις ἀθετητῆς φανείη ἀπὸ τῶν δύο μερῶν,
ὀφείλει ἵνα ζημιούται...πρὸς τὸ θεοφρούρητον κάστρον
ὑπέρπυρα δέκα": S.P. Lampros, "Ταβουλλαρικὸν γράμμα τοῦ
ΙΔ' αἰῶνος," ΔΙΕΕ, 5 (1900), 160. The mistake in the cal-
culation of the date in Lampros's edition, i.e. 1326 in-
stead of 1426, is due to the copyist of the ms. Par.Gr.
3067. (Pl. 10) The original, from Vat.Gr. 1904, (Pl. 9) is
signed by the taboullarios, Demetrios Manicaïtes, on whom
PLP, no. 16634. Cf. Mercati, Isidoro, 55-56.

² Miklosich-Müller, V, 175, ll. 4, 11-12.

of military techniques. These same causes led the Venetians to undertake such extensive works on the fortifications of Nauplion and Modon at this period, that both were effectively protected up to the end of the 17th century.¹

Eight years after Theodore's horismos the works had not yet been completed and a new document was issued for supplementary funds in 1450 by the new despot of Mystras, Demetrios Palaeologos.² Like the previous horismos it is very brief and it stipulates the following. According to old custom and right there is liability for kommerkion in Monemvasia which is still paid by everybody. The inhabitants of Monemvasia asked that the kommerkion should be spent for the walls of their kastron, along with the proceeds from the aviotikion and whatever other duties had been defined for the same purpose. The Despot judged their demand to be reasonable and ordered that the kommerkion should be spent along with aviotikion and other funds on the building of the walls. The

¹ G. Gerola, "Le Fortificazioni di Napoli di Romania," Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene, 13-14 (1930-31), 347-410; Andrews, Castles of the Morea, 60, 64, 94 -100.

² From ms Esc.Gr. Σ.I.12, fols. 71^V-74^R. First published by Miller, Escorial, 60-61. References in the text are from Miklosich-Müller, V, 170-71, where the date given is not correct.

collectors of the aviotikion should demand the levying of the kommerkion, which should be used, with the consent of the kephale, for the walls. The kephale should be kept informed concerning these matters and the collectors should face no interference and no obstacle either from the kephale or from anyone else, concerning the improvement of the most useful city, which is Monemvasia.

An important question arises from the analysis of this document. All previous grants for the city of Monemvasia, with the exception of the horismos of 1442, mention the exemption of the inhabitants of Monemvasia from the payment of kommerkion, whereas the present document states clearly that the kommerkion was collected from everybody and that this was according to old custom and right. There is no discrepancy here, however. The abolition of the kommerkion, referred to, concerned the imperial treasury while the city authorities continued collecting it, as had been done for centuries, perhaps since the foundation of the city.¹ For this reason the argyroboullon mentions that the city authorities, i.e. the kephale, should not object to the use of the kommerkion for the fortifications, which would diminish the city's revenues. If the kommerkion had not been collected by the city,

¹ Schreiner, Προνόμια, 164, believes that it was reinstated with an intermediate document. On κα-
στοροχτία: Trojanos, Βυζαντινά, 1 (1969), 39-57.

but either was being collected by the central authorities or was not being collected at all, the kephale would have had no reason to object, something that the argyroboullon tries to anticipate, but on the contrary ought to have been quite satisfied with the additional funds for the fortifications. The survival from the Late Roman period of the right that self-governed cities enjoyed, to collect the customs duties, is another proof of the antiquity of Monemvasia's privileges.

It is clearly stated again in the argyroboullon of 1450 that the undertaking did not concern repairs only, but the construction of new walls as well, which explains the slowness with which the works proceeded and the high cost..If it were only for minor repairs or small scale new constructions, eight years would have been long enough for their completion. On the contrary, it is possible that the construction of the new city-walls had not been completed before 1460, when the Morea fell to the Turks.

Both argyroboulla which have been examined name the person governing Monemvasia at the time as "kephale", while his immediate superior was the despot of Mystras, but it is not clear what place Monemvasia held in the general administrative structure of the

Peloponnese. It is known that in 1446 Despot Constantine Palaeologos proceeded to an administrative reform. He divided the Peloponnese into three provinces, which each had an important town as a capital and a governor, the kephale. In the northeast the capital was Corinth and kephale John Palaeologos Kantakouzenos, in the northwest the capital was Patras and kephale Alexios Lascaris and in the south the capital was Mystras and kephale George Sphrantzes. Mystras ceased to be the sole capital of the Byzantine government in the Peloponnese under the immediate and exclusive supervision of the despot. Apparently the three cities were equal and the government was coordinated by the "mesazon", none other than George, the son of Nicolaos Eudaemoniannis.¹ Monemvasia, again, is not mentioned among this administrative system. We should attribute this omission to the fact that Monemvasia, by no means insignificant, still enjoyed, to some extent at least, the old privileges of local autonomy, under the jurisdiction of the despot in Mystras. A proof of this is that some years later the inhabitants of Monemvasia in accordance with their authorities denied the Despot the right to cede the city and its territory to the Turks.

¹ Sphrantzes, *Grecu*, 68-70; Ps. Phrantzes, *Grecu*, 342; Zakythinos, *Despotat*, I, 227-29, 355. On the title and office of kephale: Zakythinos, *Despotat*, II, 65-71; Lj. Maksimović, Vizantijska provincijska uprava u doba Palaeologa (Belgrade, 1972), 71-100.

The two documents issued by the despots of Mystras in 1442 and 1450 concerning the rebuilding of the walls of Monemvasia repeatedly mention the kephale of Monemvasia. One must assume that he was the governor in the same style as the three other kephalai in the Peloponnese. A person living in Laconia who bore the title of kephale is Nicephoros "prince" Cheilas. He was a correspondent of John Eugenikos, who in a letter written about 1447 calls him "modest and most friendly kephale" and urges him to "write laconically, if it so please you, you the honour of the Lacones". Since this was the name used to designate the inhabitants of the region of Monemvasia, Cheilas must have been their governor.¹ We have noted already that he wrote a monody for the death of Cleopa Malatesta in 1433, but it is unknown whether he held his office at that time. He is last mentioned in 1452.² The documents of the despots must refer to Cheilas when they mention the kephale of Monemvasia. Cheilas was an enemy of the Union of Churches and this could explain the absence of Metropolitan Dositheos from Monemvasia after the Council of Florence. In all probability he must have been responsible for preventing the Metropolitan ^{from reaching} to reach his See.

¹ I.K. Voyatzides, "Οἱ Πρίγκιπες Χειλάδες τῆς Λακεδαιμόνου," NE, 19 (1926), 192-209, who believes that Cheilas was kephale at Mystras.

² Above, 310-11; Voyatzides, 204-05, 207; Παλαιο-λόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, I, 166-67, IV, 389.

In the turbulence following the fall of Constantinople Monemvasia and her governors are not mentioned at all in the sources, with the exception of the sojourn of Despot Demetrios, during Mehmed's invasion of the Peloponnese in 1456.¹ When the Despot surrendered to the Sultan he had already returned, in May 1460, to Mystras, while his wife and daughter still remained in Monemvasia.² The narration of the Chronicon Maius describing the surrender of the two women to Mehmed, following that of Demetrios, is possibly based on local tradition. It is related that noblemen; both Turks and Christians, were sent to Monemvasia as representatives to ask for the surrender of the wife of Demetrios and his daughter, the wife of the Sultan, who had been left there "on account of the castle being strong and impregnable" and also for the surrender of the castle. The women emerged and surrendered of their own free will. But the surrender of the castle was rejected by the citizens and their governor Manuel Palaeologos. "Because we have no authority to hold (ὑποῖζειν) and to dispose of (χαρίζειν), what has been built by God", they answered to the representatives of the Despot and the Sultan and chased away the soldiers who had come with the

¹ Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 258, 268.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 260, 268.

representatives to take over and garrison the castle. Apparently Mehmed, who had already conquered large parts of the Peloponnese, admired their wisdom and did not attempt to besiege Monemvasia.¹

Under the circumstances the Monemvasiotes considered that they ceased to be under the rule of Despot Demetrios and ceded Monemvasia to Thomas Palaeologos. The cession must be placed after May 1460, when Demetrios surrendered to the Turks and before July of the same year, when Thomas left the Peloponnese for Kerkira.² However, the difficulties faced by Monemvasia isolated in ^{the} Turkish-occupied Peloponnese soon became insurmountable. It was impossible to survive without aid from a great power. This time the Monemvasiotes did not turn to the Venetians, as they had done in 1394, but they decided to send a delegation to Siena, which appeared in September 1460 before Pope Pius II and explained that they took this step urged by Giannino of Cremona, commander of the military detachment, which was sent to free the Peloponnese from the Turks, in accordance with the decisions of the Synod of

¹ Ps. Phrantzes, *Grecu*, 536; cf. Kritoboulos of Imbros, *Grecu* ed., 253-57.

² Zakythinos, *Despotat*, I, 274; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 274, II, 496-97.

Mantua.¹ Pope Pius himself relates these events in his commentaries.

Ambassadors from Monemvasia came to the Pope to surrender themselves and their city. This is a city of the Peloponnese situated in the eastern part of the peninsula on a lofty mountain. It is protected on all sides by a single approach. It once possessed a harbor and shipyards. Some think it is the ancient Sparta, the strength and stay of Greece. The ambassadors were given public audience and spoke as follows: "Have regard to us Pope Pius. Unless you stretch out your hand, we are the prey of the Turks. Demetrius Palaeologus was our lord. He went over to the Turks and strove to bring us under their power. We detected and thwarted his schemes. We broke into the citadel, sent his wife to her husband, and closed the entrance against the Turks. We approached Thomas, Demetrius's brother, and begged him to receive and defend the city which was his now that his brother had deserted to the enemy. Thomas answered that he was not strong enough to protect us and urged us to adopt either you or someone else as our lord. In a council called to discuss these matters we voted unanimously to throw ourselves on your mercy and to hand over the people and the state to you. Receive then the suppliant, succor the wretched, and do not despise our city, which is the most convenient base for operations in Greece. If you decide to send a fleet to the East, it will find with us a harbor and the safest of refuges. If you abandon us we are forced to submit to the Turkish yoke, an event which will assuredly be a disgrace to you and a calamity to Christendom". The Pope was so moved that he wept as he reflected on the uncertainty of earthly things. For the state which was once the mistress of Greece, which had invaded Asia and the East with powerful fleets and subsued a large part of the world,

¹ K.M. Setton, The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571) (American Philosophical Society II) (Philadelphia, 1978), II, 211 n. 43, 223-25; K.M. Setton, "The Catalans and Florentines in Greece;" vol. III. in K.M. Setton ed., A History of the Crusades (Wisconsin-London, 1975), 225-27

² E.S. Piccolomini, The commentaries of Pius II, 321.

was at last brought so low that it could not stand unless it sought lords in the West and surrendered and entrusted itself to those whose ability and power it had once despised.

Giannone, who we have said above had been sent from Mantua to the Peloponnese, accompanied the embassy. He had much to say about Monemvasia and declared it to be place with natural fortification that if it were defended by even a small garrison, it would be impregnable. He implored Pius not to let slip so favorable an opportunity to recover Greece. The Pope assented and bidding the envoys to swear allegiance to him, he received the surrender of Monemvasia in his own name and that of the Church of Rome. He then dispatched a prefect to administer justice and replenish the city's grain supply, which was utterly exhausted.

The Pope issued a bull by which he ratified all the older imperial privileges and appointed Gentile de Marcolfi, soon to be replaced by Francis of Saint Anatolia, as governor of the city and the Portuguese soldier Lope de Valdaro as "capitaneus civitate Monobasie". Some authors mention that before the Monemvasioties offered their city to the Pope they had invited a well known corsair Lupo de Bertagna to assume the rule of the city. But it looks as if the similarity of the two names has led to some confusion. In all probability Manuel Palaeologos, who was kephale before 1460, continued to hold the office during the period Monemvasia remained under the sovereignty of the Pope and it was he who arranged for the Venetians to get hold of Monemvasia. It is certain that this did not happen

before September 1463.¹ A full understanding of these phases of Monemvasia's history would need extensive and specialized research in the relevant collections of sources in order to establish a well documented sequence of the events that followed the audience which Pope Pius II describes with emotion.²

¹ The bull of the Pope: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Miscellanea, Arm. IX, tom. 15, Lett. M e N, fols. 154^r-155^v. Cf. Od. Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici, XIX (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1693), p.120. Setton, Papacy, 224-25; Setton, Crusades, 276; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, 505-06.

² Setton, Papacy, 225 n.89 believes that the Venetians took hold of Monemvasia in 1462 based on an answer to a petition of Thomas Palaeologos of the Venetian Senate. But nowhere is there in the document any evidence that Monemvasia was Venetian: Sime Ljubić, Listine (Monumenta spectantia Historiarum Slavorum meridionalium, vol 22) (Zagreb, 1891), 222-24 (Sen. Segr. Reg. 21, fols. 103^v-104). Cf. A. Guglielmotti, Storia della Marina Pontificia, I-X (Rome, 1886-89), II, 310-14; B. Krekić, "Monemvasie sous la protection papale," (in Serbian with French summary) ZRVI, 6(1960), 129-35; R. Lopez, "Il principio della guerra veneto-turca nel 1463," Archivio Veneto, 5th ser. 15(1934), 27, 111; P. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, II, 505-06.

6 . The ecclesiastical history of Monemvasia

I . The Synodicon of Monemvasia

The early ecclesiastical history of Monemvasia is obscure. Among the scant information that exists, the Synodicon of Monemvasia would have been a valuable source, but unfortunately part of this document is considered by modern historians not to be genuine.¹ Three parts can be distinguished in the Synodicon. First a continuous enumeration of metropolitans of Monemvasia which ends with the statement that this "had been (already) written in July 1397(?)" (ll. 1-9).

¹ Laurent, Synodicon, 131, 133-39; J. Guillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie, édition et commentaire," TM, 2 (1967), 281-83. The text is reproduced from Laurent, Synodicon, 131-32:

- 1 Δαμιανοῦ, Βασιλείου, Κωνσταντίνου, Νικηφόρου, Λέοντος καὶ Σισσινίου, Βασιλείου καὶ Ἰωσήφ, Μιχαήλ καὶ Χριστοφόρου, Νικηφόρου, Γεωργίου, Παντολέοντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Κοσμᾶ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Θεοφάνους, Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, Νικήτα, Γεωργίου, Νικολάου καὶ Ἰωάννου τῶν ὀρθοδόξων μητροπολιτῶν Μονεμβασίας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη.
Ἦν γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ ἔτει ,στϞ ε' ἔτει ἰνδ. ε' μηνί ἰουλίῳ.
- 10 Θεοφάνους τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη.
Πέτρου, Παύλου, Γεωργίου, Κωνσταντίνου, Νικήτα, Χριστοφόρου, Ἰωάννου, Βασιλείου καὶ Νικολάου τῶν ἀρχιερέων Μονεμβασίας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη:
- 15 Ἀναστασίου, Σάβα, Νικολάου, Κωνσταντίνου, Δαμιανοῦ καὶ Ἀναστασίου τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἀρχιερέων Μονεμβασίας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη.
Ἀρσενίου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ἀρχιερέων Μονεμβασίας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη:
- 20 Θεοδώρου καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆ τῶν ἀγιωτάτων ὁμολογητῶν καὶ ἡγουμένων τοῦ ... τῶν Μονεμβασιωτῶν, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη.

The second part starts with the commemoration of Saint Theophanes followed by three lists of "ἀρχιερεῖς" of Monemvasia without further definition as to their

- Νικολάου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας,
αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
- 25 Σοφρονίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασί-
ας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας,
αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·//
Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας,
30 αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
Δωροθέου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας,
αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
Ἰωσήφ καί Ἰωσήφ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἀρχιεπισκόπων Μο-
νεμβασίας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
- 35 Γερασίμου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀνδριανου-
πόλεως, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης
τοῦ Μονεμβασιώτου, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
Ἀκακίου τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου ἁγιωτάτου
40 καί Ἀοιδίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας, αἰωνία ἡ
μνήμη·
Κυρίλλου τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου ἁγιω-
τάτου καί Ἀοιδίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας, τοῦ
λόγοις καί ἔργοις τό ἑαυτοῦ ποίμνιον καλῶς καί ὁ-
45 σίως ἰθύνοντος καί τά μέγιστα ἐπαυξήσαντος τήν ἐ-
αυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν καί ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς διαλάμ-
ψαντος ἔργοις, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
Φωτίου τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου ἁγιωτάτου
καί Ἀοιδίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ρωσίας, τοῦ τήν καθ' ἡ-
50 μᾶς ταύτην ἐκκλησίαν καί πόνοις οἰκείοις αὐξή-
σαντος ὡς ἐνῆν καί πολλοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθέμασι κεκοσμη-
κότος τοῦ Μονεμβασιώτου, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
Δοσιθέου τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου ἁγιωτά-
του καί Ἀοιδίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας, τοῦ
55 λόγοις καί ἔργοις τό ἑαυτοῦ ποίμνιον καλῶς καί ὁ-
σίως ἰθύναντος καί τά μέγιστα ἐπαυξήσαντος τήν ἐ-
αυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν καί πολλοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήμασι κεκοσ-
μηκότος καί ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καί θεαρέστοις δι-
αλάμψαντος ἔργοις, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·
- 60 Σεπτεμβρίῳ ι'. Ἰνδ. πρώτης τοῦ ,στϛξα' ἔτους.
Ἰωσήφ τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου ἁγιωτάτου
καί Ἀοιδίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας, (αἰωνία ἡ
μνήμη)·
Κυρίλλου τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου ἁγιωτά-
65 του ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μονεμβασίας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη·

status, ending with the mention of two abbots of an establishment of the Monemvasiotes which is not mentioned (ll. 10-22). The last part is a list of more or less known names of metropolitans from the end of the 13th till after the middle of the 15th century.¹ Usually in the Synodica the sequence of names is more or less chronological and it would be reasonable to expect that the first series would correspond to prelates who occupied the See of Monemvasia in the earlier centuries and the second to names of bishops before the 14th century. Indeed the last names in the first series and the first names in the second correspond to names of prelates known from other sources to have occupied the See of Monemvasia between the middle of the 9th till the 11th century, which is in accordance with their place in the Synodicon.²

The first series of names contained in the Synodicon of Monemvasia is found in all the Synodica of the Palaeologan period and in the first edition of 1522, as well as all the subsequent, of the Triodion

¹ First edition in Pasini, Codices...bibliothecae...Taurinensis (1749), pp. 421-26. Edition and commentary, Laurent, Synodicon: text, 131-32; commentary, 133-61. Gouillard, Synodikon: First part: no. XII (Sedes metropolitana ignota) p. 118; second and third parts no. XI, p. 117. Two additional names are contained in the first part: Γεώργιος, between the 4th and the 5th and Λέων between the 20th and the 21st.

² Πέτρος, Ἰωάννης, Νικήτας, Γεώργιος and Ἰωάννης of the first list and Παῦλος and Νικόλαος of the second.

but without attribution to any See.¹ Based on this fact, which is difficult to explain, Laurent, editor of the Synodicon of Monemvasia, developed a series of arguments against its attribution to the See of Monemvasia, maintaining that it was forged, which was subsequently accepted by all who dealt with the subject. His main point is that since the same list is reproduced by the Palaeologan Synodica and the Triodion and there the prelates are explicitly mentioned as metropolitans, it could not belong to Monemvasia's See, which was a bishopric up to the 13th century and there is no room in the third part of the Synodicon for inserting 23 additional names.² He attributes the introduction of this "parasite" list to an effort of the Monemvasiotes to establish the triple order of bishops, archbishops and metropolitans, which is the reasonable sequence in the evolution of an episcopal See.

Since, as was mentioned, the first series contains names of known prelates of Monemvasia in their correct chronological sequence and presents no differences from that found in the Palaeologan Synodica, and this

¹ Gouillard, Synodikon, 29, 33, 36, 282-83. Also p. 118 on the variations with the list in the Synodicon of Monemvasia. Cf. Laurent, Synodicon, 137-39.

² Laurent, Synodicon, 135-37.

is a sign of authenticity, it would be useful to examine the arguments against it.¹ Laurent supports that as long as it is accepted that the first part is not a forgery the questions of how the list was incorporated in the Palaeologan Synodica and the Triodion and of why the name of the See is not reproduced, will remain without answer.² The fact, however, that the list is found in the Synodica and the Triodion does not form an argument against its attribution to Monemvasia. A list of Patras is also found in the first and all the subsequent editions of the Triodion but this is not considered to be a forgery.³ Furthermore, the incorporation of the list in the Palaeologan

¹ On the Synodicon of the Palaeologan period and the importance of the incorporated list: Guillard, Synodikon, 21-36, esp. 30.

² Laurent, Synodicon, 136-37.

³ On the first edition of the Triodion in Venice by the printers da Sabio and the care of Giraldo and Kounadis, in 1522: Alphonse Raes, "Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise," Mélanges E. Tisserand, III (Studi e Testi, 233) (Vatican City, 1964), 209-222. He mentions the untrustworthiness of the scribe Palaeocopas, pointing, however, to the fact that there were more than one persons, at the time, with the same name. In any case the scribe of the Triodion, who died before 1522 could not have been the homonymous forger who was active until after the middle of the 16th century, cf. OCP, 28 (1962), 288-99. On the editions of the Triodion also: E. Legrand, Bibliographie Hellénique (Paris, 1903), III, 273, no. 242 (rept. 1962, II, 161, no. 240); Guillard, Synodikon, 36 and n. 196. On Palaeocopas, Ch. Patrinelis, "Ἕλληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως," EMA, 8-9 (1958-59), 101-02. Mr. An. Pardos, who has made a research on the family of Palaeocopas, has kindly informed me that there are at least four persons bearing the name of Constanine Palaeocopas, who were active during the 16th century.

Synodica could be accidental, it could have been adopted as a model for a modification of the Synodicon by the Patriarchal Synod and the copyist could have neglected its elimination from the final text. This would explain both the omission of the name of the See from the original list and the perpetuation of the list in all subsequent reproductions.¹

In reality the acceptance that the first part of the Synodicon of Monemvasia is a forgery does not provide answers to any of the questions posed by the editor of the Synodicon. The hypothesis that the list has been joined to the other parts of the Synodicon of Monemvasia to produce bishops-archbishops-metropolitans cannot stand because this sequence does not finally occur. One finds instead metropolitans-ἀρχιεπίσκοποι-archbishops.

The fact that Monemvasia, as the sources indicate, was raised to the status of a metropolis in the late 13th century forms the strongest argument against the acceptance of the first part of the Synodicon as genuine. Two sources, however, which apparently ignored the first part of the Synodicon, indicate that

¹ As suggested by Guillard, Synodikon, 282, who does not apply it, however, for the Synodicon of Monemvasia, pp. 29-30. Cf. the case of the model of a pitta-kion using the name of the metropolitan of Monemvasia: Darrouzès, Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2041.

Mon vasia held the rank of a metropolis before the 10th century, the Petitions to the Patriarch and the Chronicon Maius.¹ The Petitions contain more than one reference. In the shorter it is said about Maina: "in addition you deprived me of the bishopric, which the church under my jurisdiction possesses for almost 500 years according to chrysobulls and sigillia and synodical decisions".² In the longer it is explained concerning Monemvasia in connection with the local saint Theophanes, who lived in the 9th century that "at this time (Monemvasia) was a metropolis, as one can learn accurately from the inscriptions on the icons of this saint and his troparia and idiomela which are sang and no less from the history of his life".³ In other parts of the same report the dependence of Maina from Monemvasia already in the 9th century and other hints, which suggest that Monemvasia had been a metropolis, are repeatedly mentioned.⁴

¹ Lampros, NE, 12 (1915), 257-318, passim; Ps. Phrantzes, Grecu, 538. Both could have strengthened their arguments by using the first list of the Synodicon, had they known it.

² "ἀφεῖλες καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἣν ἔχουσα νέμεται ἡ κατ' ἐμέ ἐκκλησία σχεδὸν πεντακοσίου χρόνου διὰ τε χρυσοβούλλων καὶ σιγιλλίων καὶ πράξεων συνοδικῶν"; NE, 12 (1915), 271, ll. 29-31, 271, l. 1.

³ "Μητρόπολις ἦν τὴν καὶ οὕτως καθὼς ἐστὶ τοῦτο μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν τῶν τε εἰκόνων τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦδε καὶ τῶν ἀδομένων τροπαρίων καὶ ἰδιομέλων αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἥττον δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βίου ἐκείνου συγγραφῆς" : NE, 12 (1915), 279, ll. 18-21.

⁴ NE, 12 (1915), 275, 277, 278, 282.

The passage in the *Chronicon Maius*, which has been already cited, states that Emperor Maurice raised Monemvasia to the rank of a metropolis and granted other privileges concerning the freedom of the city, with a chrysobull issued in the year 6101, indictio 11, which is the year 592-3, during Maurice's reign.¹ Since Macarios Melissenos, who was metropolitan of Monemvasia in the 16th century, has been identified with the compiler of the *Chronicon Maius* and forger of the *Chronicon* of Sphrantzes, the information contained in his compilation as well as any document of Monemvasia, which presented difficulties were believed to be fabrications of Macarios.² Consequently his statement on the chrysobull of Maurice was not taken into consideration, as also the hints contained in the *Petitions*, particularly since they have never been systematically commented.

There seems to be no reason to discredit the statement of the *Chronicon Maius*, which is not

¹ Ps. Phrantzes, *Grecu*, 538; above pp. 44-45.

² Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 92; R.-J. Loenertz, "Autour du *Chronicon Maius* attribué à Georges Phrantzès," *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca (Studi e Testi, 118)* (Rome, 1970), 3-44; F. Dölger, "Ein literarischer und diplomatischer Fälscher des 16. Jahrhunderts: Metropolit Makarios von Monembasia," *Byzantinische Diplomatie* (Ettal, 1956), 225-44; Binon, *EO*, 37, pp 292-304; Schreiner, *Prostagma*, 214-25; Medvedev, *VV* 32 (1971), pp. 229-30; e.a.

contradicted by any other sources. One would, however, have expected the See to become an archbishopric, as was then more common.¹ In the 6th century the Peloponnese depended ecclesiastically from Rome and apart from the predominance of the See of Corinth over the others, not very much is known about the organization of ecclesiastical affairs in the peninsula. Monemvasia could have remained in that status until at least the 9th century as is deduced from the Petitions. A series of 23 prelates could have occupied its See as mentioned in the Synodicon of Monemvasia.

II . The first list of the Synodicon

First in the series of the 23 names of metropolitans in the Synodicon of Monemvasia is the name of Damianos. He must have been the energetic bishop, who took the initiative and succeeded in raising the episcopal See and could hardly be the same as the one who participated in the migration of the Lacedaemonians about forty years earlier. Nothing is known of him and of the 16 metropolitans, whose names follow

¹ Bon, Péloponnèse, 103-05. There are indications that some other Sees in Greece were not simple bishoprics, e.g. Athens, see below.

in the list. Among them one would have expected to find that of Theodosios, "of the city of the Lacedaemonians", who was present at the 6th Oecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 680-1 and who, as has been maintained, should be identified with the prelate from Monemvasia. In the minutes of the Oecumenical Council his signature is found among those of a group of bishops from cities in Greece. One should note the prominent position given to the prelate from Athens.¹ The sources, which claim that Athens was a metropolis in the late 8th century, have also been considered as forged.²

The omission of the name of Theodosios from the Synodicon could be accidental, as often happened, or a corruption may have occurred and his name might be one of those listed near Leo's who due to his place in the list must have occupied the See at about the date of the 6th Council.³

¹ Mansi, XI, 612, 624, 645, 667; Riedinger, Präsenzlisten, 7-8, 14-23; Lilie, Thrakien, 43.

² V. Laurent, "L'érection de la métropole d' Athènes et le statut ecclésiastique de l'Illyricum au VIIIe s.," Études Byzantines, 1 (1943), 68-71.

³ Between Damianos (591-2) and Ioannis (ca. 905), the last name, on whom see below, the interval is 414 years. Divided by 23, the number of metropolitans, it gives an average of 18 years of office, which points to the fifth name, Leo.

The first name of a metropolitan known from other sources is the 18th, Peter, who was present at the 7th Oecumenical Council of Nicaea in 787. In the lists of presence and of signatures Peter is found among the group of Sees from Greece, as in the previous Council.¹ The editor of the lists from Nicaea has noticed their privileged place among the metropolitans present. He attributes it to the fact that they had been recently incorporated in the hierarchy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and their exact position was not yet established. If, however, Athens and Monemvasia being still under the jurisdiction of Rome, held the rank of a metropolis, then there is nothing peculiar in their position at a relatively high place in the lists.²

Some information on Peter, who was worshipped as a local saint in the area of Monemvasia, and his performance during the Council of Nicaea is offered in the "Life of Saint Theophanes", another local saint of

¹ Mansi, XIII, 392 B; NE, 12 (1915) 279; J. Darrouzés, "Listes épiscopales du Concile de Nicée (787)," REB, 33 (1975), 65, 67; Laurent, Synodicon, 143.

² Darrouzés, Nicée, 22-26. Cf. p. 14, on the signatures of all the prelates, who signed as bishops, whether they were metropolitans or not.

Monemvasia.¹

Holy Peter, having firmly established and secured these and having displayed himself as an advocate of the Council before all, and having blocked the mouths of the heretics by oral and written arguments and offered the Council irrefutable authority he surprised and moved emperors and prelates and was glorified and praised by them for his extremely brave opposition against the impious.

Peter was strongly iconophile and so was his successor Theophanes, who according to the fragment of his "Life" had been the companion of the future Patriarch Methodi s when he travelled to Rome, for help from the Pope for the restoration of the holy icons. .

The Synodicon, however, mentions Ioannis after Peter and two letters of Theodore Stoudites mention as the companion of Methodi s Ioannis of Monemvasia. Far from suspecting another forgery one could identify the two and assume that one was the clerical and the other the monastic name of the same person, since it is not uncommon that in local tradition the clerical name is replaced by the monastic and in some Synodica both the clerical and the monastic name of some bishops are mentioned. The separate praises to Theophanes must have been added in the second part of the Synodicon at a time when the clerical name of Ioannis had

¹ NE, 12 (1915), 279, ll. 22-27. An icon of him existed in Gheraki, C. Zesiou, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ Λακωνικῆς," Βυζαντις, 1 (1909), 144, no. 98, which so far I have not been able to discover, and a church, according to local tradition, was dedicated to his memory in the lower city of Monemvasia, identified with the mosque: Calogeras, Μονεμβασία, 27; Xanalatou-Kouloglou, 14, 58-59.

been forgotten in local tradition and was believed missing from the list.¹

According to the fragment of his "Life", this metropolitan was ordained by his predecessor Peter before his death, which was not common practice. The fragment is too short for a full understanding of the procedure but it cannot be rejected altogether since Monemvasia depended still from Rome and the circumstances due to Iconoclasm and the ensuing persecutions were exceptional.² Ioannis- Theophanes, an archbishop according to the Petition, went to Rome, around 815 and stayed there until 817-8, with Methodios who was still an abbot. The two men succeeded in provoking the Pope's intervention with the Emperor on the case of the icons, although the sources provide no details on their activities there.³ (Pl. 12)

¹ Gouillard, *Synodikon*, 273, 275; cf. V. Grumel, *Régestes du Patriarcat*, II, no. 520, p. 106.

² *NE*, 12 (1915), 279; cf. E. Hermann, "Appunti sul diritto metropolitico nella chiesa bizantina," *OCP*, 13 (1947), 524-28.

³ A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, (Rome, 1852ff) VIII, nos. 192, 193; *PG*, 99, col. 1209; J. Pargoire, "Saint Méthode de Constantinople avant 821," *EO*, 6 (1903), 126-31; C. Van der Vorst, "Les relations de Saint Théodore Studite avec Rome," *An.Boll.*, 32 (1913), 439-47, esp. 445-46. C. Zesiou, *Βυζαντις*, p. 120, places in the ruined monastery called "Askitaria", in the outskirts of Monemvasia, the tomb of Saint Theodore of Kythera. Since Saint Theodore's tomb is in Kythera it is possible that it is meant Theophanes. Cf. Kalligas, *Ἐρειπωμένοι ναοί*, 35-36. Two Venetian lists of churches of the 17th c. mention one dedicated to the "Ἅγιοι θαυματουργοὶ τῆς Μονεμβασίας": Dokos, *BNJB*, 21, pp. 137-39; 22, pp. 328-29.

The next metropolitan listed in the Synodicon, Nicetas, is known from another source to have occupied the throne of Monemvasia during the reign of Emperors Leo and Alexander, who reigned between 886 and 912. Between the stay of Ioannis in Rome and these dates there is a gap of at least 70 years, which suggests that either a name is missing or that the vacancy was caused by some other reason, which cannot be specified. Nicetas has already been mentioned in connection with the curious story on the relics of a series of saints from Spain that were deposited in a church of Monemvasia.¹ Before becoming a metropolitan there, he held the episcopal throne of Coron. His presence in the metropolis of Monemvasia should be placed at the beginning rather than at the end of the reign of Leo and Alexander, because between him and a second Ioannis, who was the metropolitan in the early 10th century, two other names are listed.²

The next metropolitan after Nicetas is George. A seal of his exists, dated precisely at the end of the 9th century, a date which conforms with the place in the Synodicon.³ The following is Nicolaos. A seal

¹ Peeters, An. Boll, 30 (1911), 304-05.

² Above, 125-29.

³ V. Laurent, Le Corpus des sceaux. V. L'Eglise (Paris, 1963), 431, no. 577: "Γεωργίου ἐπισκόπου Μονοβασίας". Cf. Synodicon, 145.

of a Nicolaos of Monemvasia does in fact exist but has been dated to the 11th century and must therefore belong to the prelate of this name found in the second part of the Synodicon.¹ The first list of metropolitans ends with a second Ioannis. This person is also mentioned in the account of the Arab conquest of Monemvasia, given by bishop Paul. In the narration a few details are given concerning Ioannis. He was paralyzed on one side of his body when he tried to repaint the portrait of Saint Cyrus which had been pierced by the spear of an Arab and from which blood sprang. It is not known if he remained in office after his paralysis or if he abdicated. No other sources refer to the fact.²

With Ioannis ends the series of metropolitans. In the 10th century, indeed, Monemvasia is known to have been a bishopric, suffragan of Corinth.³ The lowering of rank of a See did not happen often and there must have been a very serious cause for it.⁴ Since

¹ Laurent, Corpus, 433-34, no. 580. Another seal of the 10th c. of Athanasios, whose name is not found in the lists, seems to have belonged to a bishop of Modon: 432-33, no. 579; cf. Synodicon, 146.

² Peeters, An.Boll, 25(1906), 237.

³ Bon, Péloponnèse, 107-13.

⁴ Some examples in J. Darrouzès, "Notes inédites de transferts épiscopaux," REB, 40 (1982), 157-72.

there is no information on the lowering of the metropolis of Monemvasia one can only conjecture on a reasonable explanation. It could be attributed to a natural disaster or an enemy attack which was so destructive that the town lost its vitality and degraded to a state that could not justify the rank of a metropolis. For Monemvasia there is no mention of any disaster except for the raid of the Arabs, following which, however, there are no signs of a decline, on the contrary the city in the 10th-century sources gives the impression of being prosperous. Consequently the reason for the lowering of rank should be sought elsewhere. A misconduct or a controversy on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities of Monemvasia could have been justified earlier, during ~~the~~ Iconoclasm, but not in the beginning of the 10th century. A third possibility might be more justifiable. The end of the series of metropolitans of Monemvasia might be due to the reorganization of the hierarchy of the Sees of the Patriarchate of Constantinople which took place when the ecclesiastical province of Illyricum, to which Monemvasia belonged and which had depended from Rome, came under the jurisdiction of Constantinople.

The integration of the Sees of Illyricum has been always linked with the beginnings of Iconoclasm and dated to the 8th century. The arguments, however, for this dating are not very convincing, since the sources

cited refer to the fact indirectly while for an event of such an importance one would have expected more explicit and categorical information.¹ The *Notitiae Episcopatum* which listed a number of Sees of the Illyricum as part of the jurisdiction of Constantinople, have been shown by the latest study on the subject not to have been official lists. The author of the study maintains that in the late 9th century the ecclesiastical division of the Sees was still unsettled and that the entry of the Western provinces into the hierarchy of Constantinople was gradual and had not been accomplished before the end of the century. He concludes that the beginning of the new situation should be placed in the first decade of the 10th century.²

It is reasonable to accept that the end of the list of metropolitans and the lowering of rank of the See of Monemvasia to that of a simple bishopric is due to the new situation created by the official integration of the Sees of Illyricum into the Patriarchate of Constantinople and to a necessary modifi-

¹ M. Anastos, "The transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople," Silloge Bizantina in onore di S.G. Mercati (Rome, 1957), 16-17, stating Theophanes, *De Boor*, 404, 408-08, 410, where there is no statement of the fact whatsoever. On the urge for a reinterpretation: Darrouzès, *Nicée*, p. 22 and n. 5.

² Darrouzès, Notitiae Episcopatum, 18, 21, 32, 53-55.

citing
need

cation of their hierarchy to suit the new situation. The procedure must have been long and must have raised controversies and oppositions but also energetic efforts from prelates and influential inhabitants of certain Sees to secure a high rank in the new hierarchy.¹ The leader of the church of Monemvasia, the semi-paralyzed Ioannis, for whose office a more accurate dating can thus be established during the first decade of the 10th century, could not compete with them and consequently his See was squeezed somewhere among the suffragan bishoprics of Corinth.²

III . The second list of the Synodicon

In the second part of the Synodicon of Monemvasia after the invocation of Saint Theophanes the Homologhetes follow four lists of names, three of bishops and one of abbots. They are all unknown from other sources with the exception of Paul and Nicolaos. Paul was a native of Monemvasia, "γέννημα καὶ θρέμμα". His relatives in the city are mentioned occasionally in his narrations, like an uncle of his, who was healed

✓ ¹ E.g. Patras and in this context many documents must have been mobilized to produce proofs of the importance of the See, like the so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia.

² Darrouzés, Notitiae Episcopatum, Notitia 7, no. 27, p. 282.

during a dream in the church of Saints Cyrus and Ioannis, in the tradition of the practices in the shrine of the two Saints in Aboukir, but also of Asclepios, who had been worshiped in Epidauros Limera.¹

It is very difficult to establish a biography for Paul, because information on him is very meagre. He was already a bishop of Monemvasia before 955 and at that date he is found in Constantinople.² He remained in office after 959.³ His seal was discovered among the finds in Corinth.⁴ Paul is known mainly because he is the author of a series of narrations "for the benefit of the soul", which seem to have enjoyed a great popularity. Not only are they found in a large number of manuscripts but they were also translated in Arabic a few decades after they were written

¹ Kominis, Paolo, 231-248, where the existing biographical information is collected. The healing: Peeters, An.Boll. 25 (1906), 233-240. On the cult in Egypt: Festugière, Sainte Thècle, 217-56. On survivals of the cult of Asclepios: Delehay, Légendes, 143-44.

² Paul was in Constantinople at the date when Paul of Latros was dying (955): Kominis, Paolo, 233.

³ In one of his narrations he refers to Constantine Porphyrogenitus as already dead. Constantine died in 959. Peeters, An. Boll. 25 (1906), 234.

⁴ Laurent, Corpus, 432, no. 578: "Παύλῳ ἐλέφ Θεοῦ ἐπισκόπῳ Μονε(μ)βασίας". Laurent, Synodicon, 144-45.

in the 11th century, and in Latin.¹ A number of narrations refer to events which took place in Monemvasia and give a vivid picture of life in a byzantine city of the 10th century, with curious details of more general interest, like the case of a Slav slave who converted to Christianity.² They display a wide knowledge of the world and of literature as is clear from the narrations on the relics of the saints from Barcelona and on Pyrrhos the Hermit and Sergius the "demotes" of Alexandria.³ Some give valuable topographical information, like the existence of a lower and upper city or the name of a spring, probably near the surface of the sea, called "The brackish water". Two important monasteries, Hodhighitria in the upper and the Theotokos which had Catechoumena in the lower city, seem to have been landmarks of the town. The "lower" monastery, as it is also called, the ruins of which could be those of present day Κατηχούμενα, should probably be identified with Θεοτόκος τῆς Διακονίας mentioned in the "Life of Saint Theodore of Kythera" who stayed in Monemvasia at approximately

¹ J.M. Sauget, "Le Paterikon du manuscrit arabe 276 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," Le Muséon, 82 (1969), 363-404; G. Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, II (Studi e Testi, 133) (Vatican City, 1947), 41-42, 517-18; Kominis, Paolo, 237-48. Cf. BHG no. 1449 with bibliography of the published miracles.

² F. Dvornik, Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle (Paris, 1926), 245.

³ Peeters, An.Boll., 30 (1911), 296-301; C. Falsetta, "Racconto di Paolo di Monembasia sull'Eremita Pirro e il "Demota" Sergio," RSBN, 2-3 (XII-XIII) (1965-6), 189-91.

the time of Paul. His life is also a source of information on the churches of Monemvasia and the area around. It mentions among others a still extant church dedicated to the Virgin, in the village of Taireia or Tairaia a few kilometres south of Monemvasia. Apparently, according to the local tradition Maleas was a "μικρόν Ἁγίου Ὄρος" and a proof of this is the large number of churches that still survive in the peninsula most certainly dating from before the 13th century.¹

Of the names that follow after Paul only one is known, of Nicolaos, of whom a seal exists, as already mentioned. The chronological indications seem to suggest that he was a contemporary of Patriarch Michael Cerularios, during the first half of the 11th century.²

¹ Da Costa Louillet, *Sainte Marthe*, 344-46; BHG 1175; Kalligas, *Haghiá Sophia*, 218-20; Oikonomides, "Ἁγιὸς Θεόδωρος, 271, 281-87; V. Kepetzis, *ΠΑΕ* (1982) 386-89. A list of the churches in the area of Epidaurou Limera (Monemvasia) in: Drandakis, etc. "Ἐρευνα", *ΠΑΕ* (1983), A', 257-63. 156 churches are mentioned, 56 of which are certainly byzantine, while many others seem to be reconstructions of byzantine churches. Two, at least, should be added: Kalligas, *Ἐρειπωμένοι ναοί*, 35-36.

² "Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικολάῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Μονεμβασίας": Laurent, *Corpus*, 433-34, no. 580. Cf. R. Etzeoglou, "Νέα Ἀρχαιολογικά δεδομένα γιὰ τὴ βυζαντινὴ Μονεμβασία," *Acts of the 1st Int. Con. of Pel. St.*, II, (Athens, 1976-78), 320, on a church in the lower city dating from the 11th-12th century.

After 1204 the church of Monemvasia kept in contact with the Patriarch at Nicaea and among the last names in the list of the Synodicon, one must have surely belonged to the bishop who was witness to the surrender of the city to the Franks.¹ As the Petition to the Patriarch states, he obeyed the order of the "ruler" and stayed behind, because he preferred to share the hardships of his flock than to emigrate. But he was faced with extreme difficulties, since he had used all the income of his See during the long and hard years of the siege and all the subsequent revenues were ceded to the Catholic bishop. He had not been able to continue to live in his See and the conquerors did not allow for another Greek bishop to replace him in their dominion. Most probably the Orthodox bishop must have died soon and, unless another was elected in Nicaea and resided there or in one of the Monemvasiot colonies, the See must have remained vacant for some years.²

As Latin bishop for the See of Monemvasia, which was one of the suffragans of Corinth, was appointed in 21 August 1253 Oddo or Eudes de Verdun by Pope

¹ R.-J. Loenertz, "Lettres de George Bardanès métropolitaine de Corcyre au patriarche oecuménique Germain II (1226-1227c)," EEBS, 33 (1964), 108.

² NE, 12 (1915), 290-91.

Innocent IV . He must have been the only Latin bishop appointed and less than 10 years later the Latin See disappeared.¹ Innocent's registers record on the date 15 April 1252 the name of an important Frankish establishment functioning since several years in the area of Monemvasia, the Cistercian monastery of De Pirn or de Pirt.² The noble woman Marguerite, daughter of Narjot de Toucy was given by the Pope permission to depart from the monastery and get married. The fact that the monastery was functioning in the area of Monemvasia means that the area where it was situated must have been in Frankish hands from at least some years, before 1250. The phonetical resemblance of the word Pirn with Πρινῆνος or Πιρυνῆνος, where a monastery dedicated to Saint George is mentioned some years later in the chrysobull issued by Andronikos II for the possessions of the metropolis of Monemvasia , which had a rich property, including a lake, suggests that the Cistercian monastery must have been situated in Helos, which had been conquered by the Franks around 1223 and could, therefore, have been established there soon after.

¹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. 23, no. 132; Régistres d'Innocent IV, III, 306, no.6952; Bon, Morée, 100 n.1; Miller, Monemvasia, 233.

² Ar.Seg. Vat., Reg.22, no.211. The reading "Pirn" is not certain: Berger, Régistres d'Innocent IV, I, 40, no. 5647. J.Longnon, Les Toucy en Orient (Auxerre, 1958), 9-10, does not mention the monastery; Bon, Morée, 127-28, also, and considers Marguerite the sister and not the daughter of Narjot de Toucy.

IV . The Metropolis of Monemvasia

In the Chronicle of Monemvasia, the second part of the Turin-Kutlumus version, i.e. the Short Chronicle of the metropolis of Lacedaemonia is introduced as follows.¹

English

After the submission of this present land with the Grace of God and its subordination to the mighty and holy emperors, first took the See the prelate of the most holy metropolis of Monemvasia kyros Gregorios who being exarch and having the rights over the whole of the Peloponnese he ordained in Amykli Nicephoros...

Based on this information historians have accepted the view that the bishopric of Monemvasia was raised to a metropolis by Michael VIII.² This view has never been contested despite the fact that of the two Notitiae, which have also been taken into consideration and are believed to be contemporary to Michael VIII, one mentions Monemvasia as a bishopric of the metropolis of Corinth and the other as a metropolis ranking in the 98th place. Historians have accepted that the first

¹ Lampros, Ἱστορικά Μελετήματα, 103-04.

² Laurent, Synodicon, 146-47; Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 277-78; Dölger, Regesten, nos. 1897a, 1898 (cf. 2237); Laurent, Régestes du Patriarcat, IV, no. 1361; Athénagoras Paramythias and Filiaton, Ἡ Μητρόπολις Μονεμβασίας (Athens, 1930), 5; Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 271-72.

reflected a slightly earlier situation, and Gregory has been considered to be the first metropolitan of Monemvasia.¹ It is strange, however, that his name is not found in the Synodicon. The editor of this text stresses this surprising gap: "The prelate whose name is omitted by the Synodicon symbolized the elevation of his See to the highest honour and also in his compatriots' eyes it was he who had restored Orthodoxy in the city".- He believes that he must have held the See as soon as the city was liberated and that he had his jurisdiction extended over all the Greek section of the Peloponnese where he ordained and appointed his subordinates.²

The testimony from other sources was believed to confirm the raising of the See during Michael's reign. It might be useful to examine these sources. A note on a manuscript of the end of the 13th century, mentions that the elevation took place "after our entering Constantinople". There is, however, no further specification of the date.³ The Synodical decision of

¹ Not. 10, Parthey, 125; Not. 13, Parthey, 256; Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 278 n.1,2,3,4.

² Laurent, Synodicon, 146-47.

³ From ms Vat. Gr. 1455, fol. 233^V : Laurent, EO, 31 (1932), 318 n.3 and EO, 35 (1936), 115 n.2; Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 277.

1397, concerning the dispute between the metropolis of Corinth and that of Monemvasia was also believed to contain evidence. . It states:¹

the great chartophylax brought an old register, in which, according to the then prevailing custom, the daily synodical acts were noted, and spreading it out he found exposed in extent that very first act, by which the then bishop of Monemvasia was given the honour of metropolitan and the afore mentioned bishoprics of Corinth, by imperial decree.

Futher on it narrates:²

the most holy metropolis of Corinth having succumbed to siege, the then Emperor...not only him personally, but also all the following bishops...he honoured with the office of metropolitan.

One has to note that these references do not contain any chronological indication. Another source is the Petition to the Patriarch. It mentions vaguely that the elevation took place when Corinth was captured and at another point it quotes the extract from the Synodical act already mentioned. It is obvious that it confuses to some extent the acts of Michael with those of Andronikos.³

No source attributes explicitly the elevation of Monemvasia to Michael VIII. As a matter of fact no

¹ Miklosich-Müller, II, 288, ll. 23-29; Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 276.

² Miklosich-Müller, II, 288, ll. 30-35; Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 276.

³ NE, 12 (1915), 281, 289 and passim.

substantial change in the ecclesiastical hierarchy is mentioned during his reign. The *Notitiae Episcopatum*, as has been recently proved, were not official lists and it is not at all certain that they reflect the actual situation of the Church at a certain given time and consequently they cannot form conclusive evidence that Michael VIII raised Monemvasia to a metropolis.¹

It has been claimed that Michael's name is missing from the relevant sources because it was erased due to the *damnatio memoriae* which was imposed for his unionist policy.² But in the chrysobulls of Andronikos II and Andronikos III concerning the city of Monemvasia reference is made to the document granted by Michael and if Michael had issued a document concerning the church of Monemvasia one would have expected it to be mentioned in the later chrysobulls. However, there is no such reference.³

¹ Cf. Laurent, *Synodicon*, 147 and n.2. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 162-163 on the lists of Michael's time; 171 on the lack of any records for possible changes during Michael's reign; p. 165 and esp. n. 3 on the notices concerning Monemvasia, and 183 and n.2, 3, on the confusion created by the vies of Laurent and Binon.

² Laurent, *Synodicon*, 147.

³ Miklosich-Müller, V, 154-55, 165-68. Michael is not mentioned also among the emperors having granted "chrysobulls" for Monemvasia in the chrysobull of John Kantakouzenos: Medvedev, *VV*, 32, pp. 227-28.

The Chronicon Maius contains a reference that it was Andronikos II who elevated Monemvasia to a metropolis and a similar reference is found in Ps.Dorotheos. This was, however, rejected by modern historians.¹ Despite their denial the chrysobull of Andronikos II, of June 1301, contains the personal testimony of the Emperor's that he personally honoured the See of Monemvasia by raising it to a metropolis. This statement has gone so far unnoticed. In the prooimion, after long praises for the Metropolitan, for whose sake the Emperor issued the document, he mentions that the assets of the city are such that they alone, it is sure, would have induced him to alter its status (μεταποιῆσαι) and to promote its See to a higher status and merit and rank; and all this even if something like that had not taken place in the past, as was the case with Monemvasia, or had been thought that it had taken place. At this point Andronikos not only elucidates that the elevation of Monemvasia is due to him but also that evidence had been presented to him according to which Monemvasia had held in the past the elevated position, adding that in any case he had been determined to raise Monemvasia to the rank of a metropolis.² Consequently that first act, the imperial decree

¹ Ps.Phrantzes, Grecu, 538; Ps. Dorotheos, 400, 403. Laurent, Synodicon, 145-46; Binon, EO, 37 (1938) 279. Laurent, Les faux, 155-57.

² Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 308, ll. 84-90.

which is mentioned in the Synodical act of 1397, must be attributed to Andronikos II and not to Michael VIII.

The exact dating of the elevation of Monemvasia and of the issuing of the first relevant imperial document is given by the *Chronicon Maius*, which delivers the date 6800, indictio 5, i.e. 1291-2.¹ The same date is found in a Short Chronicle, which mentions that "the (prelate) of Monemvasia became metropolitan in the year 6800 indictio 14".² The editor of the Short Chronicle, who according to the prevailing view attributes the elevation to Michael VIII, considered that, since the indictio mentioned, 14, does not comply with the year 6800 or 1291-2, the Short Chronicle did not refer to the elevation but to the date of issue of the chrysobull of Andronikos II, 1301, which is indictio 14, and completed the date to 6809.³ However, the Short Chronicle in its 48 paragraphs has as a rule correct dates and only in two other cases makes use of the indictio in one of them mistakenly. Furthermore it speaks clearly about the elevation

¹ Ps. Phrantzes, *Grecu*, 538.

² Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 32/12, p. 230, II, 216.

³ Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, II, 216.

to a metropolis. Most probably then the date 1291-2 mentioned by both sources should be considered correct.¹

One of the difficulties for accepting this dating is the fact that the signature of the metropolitan of Monemvasia is contained among a series of signatures of prelates under the "Tomos" of the Synod at Blachernai, dated by its editor in August 1285, which would mean that the elevation had already taken place.² It is, however, certain that many of the signatures were added later, as the editor himself admits. The year 1289, when Patriarch Gregory died, has been so far considered the limit, even though all manuscripts delivering a date mention 1291-2.³ The confusion concerning the dating of the signatures is evident and, until a special study appears, it cannot be used as a basis for dating other events.

Consequently according to the previous analysis Andronikos II and not Michael VIII honoured Monemvasia

¹ Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, I, 32, pp.

² Laurent, Régestes du Patriarcat, IV, no. 1490, pp. 279-285; Dölger, Regesten, 2108; V. Laurent, "Les signataires du second synode des Blachernes (été 1285)," EO, 26 (1927), 129-141; V. Laurent, "Notes de chronologie et d'histoire byzantine à la fin du XIIIe siècle," REB, 27 (1969), 217-19

³ Laurent, Régestes, no. 1490; Darrouzés, Notitiae Episcopatum, 165.

giving its See the rank of a metropolis. This most probably took place in the year 1291-2.

The problem, however of metropolitan Gregory, who is mentioned in the Chronicle of Monemvasia and who should not have been omitted by the Synodicon, remains. It has already been noted that the second part of the Chronicle does not concern Monemvasia at all, particularly not the See of Monemvasia. It concerns exclusively the metropolis of Lacedaemonia and the name of Monemvasia shows up only in matters concerning both Lacedaemonia and Monemvasia.¹ The wording in the phrase is such that it could refer not to Gregory, metropolitan of Monemvasia but to Gregory, who, after being bishop of Monemvasia, was called to fill the empty metropolitan See and was ordained Metropolitan of Lacedaemonia. The Petition to the Patriarch mentions, giving also a chronological indication that prelates were ordained in both Sees during Patriarch Joseph's office, i.e. not before 1267 and this must be when the bishop Gregory became metropolitan of Lacedaemonia and a new person filled the See of Monemvasia, which remained a bishopric for about three more decades.²

¹ Above ch.1 II.

² Above p. 288; NE, 12 (1915), 290, ll. 31-32, 291, ll. 1-3.

V . The privileges granted by Andronikos II

The text of the imperial decree, i.e. the prostagma, issued by Andronikos II to elevate Monemvasia to a metropolis has been lost, but incorporated in the Synodical act of 1397 is the sigillion of the Patriarch, which according to the prevailing custom followed the imperial document and possibly reproduces parts of it. In the act reasons are given for the issuing of the prostagma, which according to it are the conquest of Corinth by the Latins and the help the bishop of Monemvasia gave to the refugees who settled in his area. The elevation was a reward for his kindness "and in addition the Emperor two bishoprics from the metropolis of Corinth he detached and awarded him ...which furthermore the Synod later ratified".¹

English }

From this point a misunderstanding has sprung, because it has been assumed that this decree gave Monemvasia only two bishoprics. However the "καί" which exists in the text and has the connotation of furthermore, "in addition", agrees with the later imperial and patriarchal documents which mention that Monemvasia had "previously" (πρότερον) or "from the beginning

¹ V.Laurent, "Les faux de la diplomatie patriarcale: un prétendu acte synodal en faveur de la métropole de Monembasie," REB, 21 (1963), 150; Miklosich-Müller, II, 288-9 and esp. 289, 1-8. The facts concerning the emigration of Corinthians are not known.

(ἀρχιερεῖς) four bishoprics: Kythera, Helos, Maina and Rheon.¹ Kythera and Maina are the two bishoprics belonging previously to Corinth, which were given as a reward, Helos was a suffragan of Patras and Rheon is mentioned for the first time.²

The praises for the first metropolitan Nicolaos, contained in the act, are much more restrained than in the later documents, from where it is understood that the promotion of the See must have been the result of his personal efforts. In the later ἐγκώμια some information exists concerning him. He had been a monk and must have been highly esteemed by the Emperor and the ecclesiastical circles.³ Nicolaos had the bad luck to fall into the hands of the Catalan pirate Roger de Lluria when the latter sacked Monemvasia in October 1292. For his ransom a large amount had to be paid.

After his return to Constantinople in 1300, Andronikos II decided to honour Monemvasia even more. To

¹ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 278; NE, 12 (1915), 288, mentioning apart from Maina 3 more bishoprics; and 280-81, fragment of a lost Synodical decision following the chrysobull of 1301.

² Oldest mention of a bishop of Kythera in 1110, cf. J. Darrouzès, "Sur les variations numériques des évêchés byzantins," REB, 44 (1986), 40 n.35. Maina and Helos are only mentioned once before, in Not. 7, of the 10th c.: Darrouzès, Notitiae Episcopatum, pp. 282, 284.

³ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 307-08, 11. 31 - 84.

this end a whole series of documents was issued. A prostagma in April 1300 followed immediately after by a Synodical act bearing the same date. Then a chrysobull in 1301 followed by another Synodical act of unknown date.

The first two documents have survived in a 16th century copy, in the form of a double document, the prostagma being incorporated in the Synodical act. The only date that both bear is April indictio 13.¹ The Synodical act introduces the prostagma with a paragraph where it is related that the Emperor "renovates" the metropolis which is found in the Peloponnese and has been named after the fact that it has only one entrance, and it continues by stating the importance of Monemvasia, for which the Emperor wanted to achieve the "renovation". This word reoccurs often in the documents that follow, reflecting possibly the rearrangements of the Church which had already started.² The Emperor's prostagma which follows is quoted word by word. It repeats several times the words "renovation" and "renovate". The Emperor states that it was his

¹ From Ms Scorial. Gr. Φ. III. 18, fols. 279^V-282^V: G. de Andrés, Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, II (Madrid, 1965), 75. First edition: Laurent, *Les faux*, 145-49.

² Laurent, *Les faux*, 145, ll. 1-18.

intention to renovate Monemvasia by honouring the servant of God, who has furnished the city with "seas of gifts", as a reward for the benevolence of the inhabitants and the city towards the Emperor.¹ According to the prostagma the metropolitan of Monemvasia becomes exarch of the whole of the Peloponnese and he is offered the position of a See "which has already died out and has in a way passed", that of Side, and in future will be 10th in rank.² The honour, the rank and the appellation which is conferred on him and his successors he will enjoy everywhere. Furthermore to the four bishoprics which had been bestowed on him are added Coron, Modon and Zemenia. Of those any still in Latin hands will come under the metropolitan's jurisdiction as soon as they are recovered. Then the metropolitan will be able to ordain bishops, as in his other bishoprics.³ After the usual formalities the Patriarch is asked when the document appears before him in the Synod to issue a relevant Synodical act confirming that which the Emperor recommends. The date which, as is usual with the prostagmata, does not mention the year, is April indictio 13.⁴

¹ Laurent, *Les faux*, ll. 19-32, pp. 145-46.

² As is Side called in the chrysobull of 1301: Binon, *EO*, 37 (1938), 308, ll. 103-04;

³ Laurent, *Les faux*, ll. 31-66, pp. 146-47.

⁴ Laurent, *Les faux*, ll. 67-76, p. 147.

Further on the document states that the Patriarch presented the case to the Synod, which was composed of nineteen prelates, named individually.¹ Then follows the act which repeats in detail the concession of the Emperor.² The Patriarch dates it to April, 13th indiction, and the document ends with the formal phrases which prove its provenance from an official copy.³

The older privileges which were only the raising to a metropolis and the granting of four bishoprics are distinguished from the new privileges, the position of Side, which is the tenth and the three new bishoprics. The editor, however, of this double document has misinterpreted at this point the text. He considers that an older document granted Monemvasia the exarchate over the whole of the Peloponnese and the position of Side. Furthermore he believes that the position of Side was 13th in rank and that with the present document Monemvasia was promoted to the 10th place.⁴ In the analysis which he undertakes despite his original affirmation that the document poses no problem he concludes that it is forged. His main

¹ Laurent, *Les faux*, ll. 77-100, pp. 147-48.

² ll. 101-131, pp. 148-49.

³ ll. 132-135, p. 149.

⁴ Laurent, *Les faux*, 149.

criticism is the incompatibility which he believes to exist between the date, April indictio 13, which corresponds to 1300 and the list of 19 prelates of the Synod, which is almost identical with the one contained in the Tomos of Blachernai, which as was mentioned, he dates in 1285, whereas another list, unpublished, which he dates in 1294 does not reproduce the same names. Consequently the prostagma-Synodical act must have been issued between 1285 and 1294, which is much too long before 1301, when the relevant chrysobull was issued.¹

There are two other important reasons for which he thinks that the document is forged. First that the double document does not belong to any definite category of documents, it is a hybrid, and second that Monemvasia never held the 10th rank, at least not during Andronikos's and metropolitan Nicolaos's time, but the 13th.² This double document, however, is not the only one existing.³ In any case concerning the formalities of the issuing of documents, the ecclesiastical in particular, there existed not only a certain

¹ Laurent, *Les faux*, 150-52.

² Pp. 153-54.

³ On other cases of insertion of an imperial document in a Synodical act: J. Darrouzès, Le Registre du Patriarcat Byzantin au XI^e siècle (Paris, 1971), 153-54.

flexibility but also vagueness, confusion and often ignorance of the rules, and strangely this is something the editor himself admits.¹ Concerning the position of Side he arrived at his conclusion by combining the information from the Tomos of Blachernai and a Notitia according to which Side was lowered from the 10th to 13th rank. He concludes that the 10th rank was held by the metropolitan of Philadelphia and not of Monemvasia.²

The confusion concerning the Tomos of Blachernai was pointed out earlier. As for the Notitiae Episcopatum the new edition which proved that they were not official catalogues also proved that the position of the old metropolis did not change however many other Sees were subsequently given the same position. The original See continued to hold the same position and had a priority over the others.³ There is no reason consequently to doubt the promotion of Monemvasia directly to the 10th rank, held by Side, without passing through the intermediate 13th rank.

Concerning the editor's main reserves on the date of issue of the two documents one should under-

¹ Laurent, *Les faux*, 153 n. 22; Darrouzés, Régistre, passim. Cf. Rég. du Patr., no. 2012.

² Laurent, *Les faux*, 153-54.

³ Darrouzés, Notitiae Episcopatum, 183-84.

line that they are based again on his uncertain dating in 1285 of the signatures contained in the Tomos of Blachernai, whereas he himself admits that its dated manuscripts bear the date 1291-2, and another uncertain dating, 1294, of an unpublished list. This evidence from both cannot be assessed for the time being.¹

The arguments against the authenticity of the double document based on postulates which since have been renounced, should obviously not be taken into consideration any more. Such is the case with his opinion on the incompatibility with certain Notitiae. On the contrary one must underline the similarities between the imperial prostagma and the chrysobull of 1301. The reproduction of whole parts of the prostagma in the chrysobull is a proof of authenticity. The opposite would have rendered the documents suspect of forgery.²

In conclusion the imperial prostagma and the Synodical act contained in the 16th century copy are the documents which were issued in April 1300 to mark a second raising of the See of Monemvasia and the

¹ On the Tomos of Blachernai above ch. 6. IV.

² Laurent, *Les faux*, 150.

granting of more privileges. Andronikos II offered the Church of Monemvasia in June 1301 the chrysobull which followed the prostagma, as expected. The miniature that it bears, the first to adorn an imperial document, as far as it is known, depicts the Emperor offering it to Christ, to whom the church of Monemvasia was dedicated.¹ However, the most striking element of the document is not the miniature, which confers on it a particularly luxurious appearance, but the impressively long prooimion. Its length surpasses the length of the actual text and is a praise to the city of Monemvasia, its inhabitants and its metropolitan Nicolaos.²

If no such act had been conceived, it states, then the Emperor invented the "original pattern" and "renovated" the "famous" city of Monemvasia, as a first step for the future.³ Then follows the praise of the city and the inhabitants which has already been

¹ I. Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts (Leiden, 1976), 184-85, 246. Byzantine Museum, Κατάλογος: Έκθεση για τὰ ἑκατὸ χρόνια τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας (1884-1984) (Athens, 1984), 45-46.

² Byzantine Museum ms. 80 (XAE 3570). On the first and subsequent editions: Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 275, n. 1. Binon's edition, pp. 306-10 is used for reference. Dölger, Regesten, no. 2237. Cf. nos. 2232, 2233, 2235, 2238 on related documents, but the references are confused and should not be taken into consideration.

³ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 306, ll. 1-7.

analysed.¹ And the prooimion continues stating that for some time now the church is headed by an excellent pastor, dedicated to God from an early age and now very old, who has changed nothing from his original way of life, has lost nothing of his original power, he is inexhaustible and has always set an example. Long praises of his character follow.²

After the prooimion the Emperor refers to the prostagma, which he had issued the previous year. (προθεσπίσασα). The Metropolitan asked for a chrysobull confirming the grants and the Emperor accepted his petition. As in the prostagma, the chrysobull orders that the metropolitan of Monemvasia and his successors will enjoy all the honours of the See of Side everywhere.³ That he will be exarch of the whole of the Peloponnese and enjoy the honours common to those who are exarchs. The bishoprics of Kythera, Helos, Maina and Rheon have already been conferred on Monemvasia and their dependence in the future from this See is confirmed. Three more are given, Coron, Modon and Zemena, which ought to recognize Monemvasia as their metropolis, accept bishops whom the metropolitan might

¹ Above ch. 4 I.

² Binon, EO, 37 (1938), ll. 31-84, pp. 307-08.

³ Ll. 84-116, p. 308.

ordain and install¹ and if some of them still belong to the Latins all this will be enforced after they have been liberated.¹ After the summary that follows, the document closes with the formal phrases concerning the reasons it was issued, the date June, indictio 14, 6809, i.e. 1301, and the signature.²

Another Synodical act followed the chrysobull of 1301, which repeats all the privileges. A fragment of this act, which has been incorporated along with a fragment of the chrysobull in the Petition to the Patriarch, differs in its phrasing from the previous Synodical act of April 1300.³

The aged and virtuous Nicolaos whose dynamism is praised in the chrysobull, does not seem to have disdained completely the earthly goods, at least those concerning his metropolis and tried to secure as best as possible its rights. He asked for another chrysobull concerning the property of the metropolis, which has been preserved in two later copies. In this chrysobull again many lines are devoted to praises of the

¹ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), ll. 116-141, pp. 308-09.

² Ll. 141-172, pp. 309-10.

³ NE, 12 (1915), 281, ll. 10-23: chrysobull, 281, ll. 23-33, 282, ll. 1-3: Synodical act of 1301, 282, ll. 4-6: Synodical act of April 1300.

Metropolitan.¹ They are, however, more abstract and rhetorical than in the prooimion of the other chrysobull, possibly an indication that it has been written by another author.² Subsequently the reasons leading to the issuing of this document are exposed. Following the promotion of the See of Monemvasia and the offer by the Emperor of much substance and property by various relevant decrees³ and after the metropolitan's insistence, the Emperor decided to issue a special chrysobull.⁴

The property of the Metropolis is then listed in detail. It comprised several villages; Ganganeas, with serfs, estates, its rights and its use;⁵ Pezia-menoi, also with serfs and estates, its rights and its use; Philodendron, with serfs and estates, Episkopeia in the Plain (Kampos) with serfs, the land owned by the church;⁶ also in the village "τῶν Πολλῶν Σενίων" the quantity of 25 hyperpera. The monasteries; of Saint

¹ First edition Miller, Escorial, 59-60. Below on the manuscripts. References in the text from Miklosich-Müller, V, 161-65.

² Prooimion, Miklosich-Müller, pp. 161-63, l. 11.

³ Unknown from other sources.

⁴ Miklosich-Müller, 163, ll. 11-24.

⁵ Small village near Molaoi with a monastery of the Theotokos: Drandakis, etc. ΠΑΕ (1983) A, 237; Belia, Στατιστικά, 92-93.

⁶ It could have been situated in the plain of Molaoi near the Early-Christian ruins : Etzeoglou, Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς (1974).

George in Prinikos with serfs, αὐτοῦργια, a lake and the whole contribution of acorns, half of which previously went to the civil administration;¹ of Prodro-mos in Zaraphon, with serfs and other rights.² The pro-asteion of Leimones or Daimones.³ Several houses within the city of Monemvasia which previously belonged to a certain Arés (Henri?)⁴ The αὐτοῦργια at Nomia⁵ with also a separate estate and serfs, at Tareia⁶, Sion, Sorakas,⁷ Koulendia, Koumaraia, Voulkane,⁸ Mese, Dhodhaia and Nodhys which comprises also the lake, the tower and the palaiokastron. The ἀγρίδια at Lyra⁹ with serfs and estates, of Mountouson, of Saint Kournoutos¹⁰ with serfs, of Kamarás with serfs and estates,

¹ In the plain of Helos, it could be the Cictercian monastery of De Pirn, above, 287. One should also consider the identification with Saint George near Skala, in the same area, on which: D. Hayer, "Saint George près de Scala (Laconie)," ΔΧΑΕ, περ. Δ', 12 (1984), 265-86. On the area of Prinikos and the oak: Leake, Travels, 224-26.

² On Zaraphon, Orlandos, ΕΕΒΣ, 6 (1927), 342-51; Bon, Morée, 512, 661.

³ Possibly Daemonia, in the western Laconiké.

⁴ Above, ch. 3 IV.

⁵ To the south of Monemvasia.

⁶ Above, p. 347..

⁷ Not to be mixed with Hierax or Zarax a place-name to the south of Monemvasia.

⁸ In Messenia, Bon, Morée, 417-18.

⁹ To the south of Monemvasia.

¹⁰ Recently identified, unpublished.

the Ripiai with the nearby land of Kalamion¹ and τῶν Δικαστηρίων. At Helos, in various places, plots of land, four watermills erected by the church and a vineyard. At Phota² a vineyard. The church assumes all the rights on all of these, that is to say the land, vineyards, mills, trees, orchards, and whatever else.

The right to buy the kermes gathered by the serfs of the monastery of Prinikos and of Zaraphon from the areas belonging to the church is also cited. Not, however, from the areas belonging to the civil administration. According to the chrysobull it is decreed that all that the Church of Monemvasia has in possession and use will be exempted from taxes, will be unalienable and free from epereia and epithesis.

The document has been preserved in two copies. Their text is identical except for the date of issue. The oldest copy of the 16th century bears the same as the chrysobull of 1301, i.e. June, 14th indictio, 6809. The other, of the 18th century, which mentions that it has been copied from the original which had

¹ Possibly Val de Kalami in Messenia, Bon, Morée, 418-22.

² Today Φούτλια, south of Monemvasia.

been transported in 1750 to Constantinople bears the date May, indictio 15, 6810, i.e. 1302.¹ Since the date coincides in the first copy with the other chrysobull's, it is possible that it was mistaken by the copyist, who having several manuscripts to copy he added under the copy of one chrysobull the date of another. The fact that the two prooimia are so different in style advocates the view that they were issued at a different date. One could consequently accept with certain reserves the date of the second copy, May 1302 for the issue of the chrysobull concerning the property of the metropolis of Monemvasia. The Metropolitan with this property secured substantial income, mainly agricultural and was able to acquire considerable wealth for his See. It is noteworthy that large part of it was in the fertile regions towards Helos, as the monastery of Prinikos and the curious Saint Kournoutos, or towards Messenia like Voulkane.

¹ Scor. Gr. E. I. 12, fols. 72^r-73^r. First published in Miller, Escorial, 61-65. Dölger, Regesten no. 2236. Ms. F no. 3, formerly XX.A.a, fols. 11-14, in the Library of Sciences in ^{III} Leningrad: Medvedev, VV, 32 (1971), 225; B. Fonkić, "Nikolai Karadza i Leningradskii sbornik bizantiiskich dokumentov," VV, 37 (1976), 140-50, pl. 3, fol. 11. He publishes a photograph of the first folio of both the chrysobull of Andronikos, pl. 3, and of John VI, pl. 2. On Nicolaos Karatzas: Ch. Patrinelis, "Πατριαρχικά γράμματα καὶ ἄλλα ἔγγραφα σημειώματα τοῦ ΙΣΤ'-ΙΗ' αἰῶνος ἐκ τοῦ κώδικος τοῦ Ἱέρρακος (Ἔθν. Βιβλ. Ἑλλ. 1474)," EMA 12(1962), 141-45.

VI . The so-called false chrysobull of 1293

Around 1304 Nicolaos is mentioned as managing, apart from Monemvasia, κατ'ἐπίδοσιν, the metropolis of Patras.¹ During the time he was proedros of Patras he was in the Peloponnese and collaborated with the dynamic and ambitious Nicephoros Moschopoulos, metropolitan of Crete and proedros of Lacedaemonia, who was also in the Peloponnese. Nicephoros depended in a way on Nicolaos because the revenue from his See was small and he had been granted the revenues of one of the bishoprics of Monemvasia, possibly Maina.² The relations between the two men were not always harmonious. At a certain time they contended for the bishopric of Amykli, one for Patras and the other for Lacedaemonia and it was finally accorded to Nicephoros. The chronology of these events is not at all certain.³

Nicolaos's signature is found ratifying, some time

¹ Chronicle of Monemvasia: Lampros, Ἱστορικά Μελετήματα, 105-06; Laurent, Synodicon, 148; Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 286.

² Laurent, Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 1625.

³ Lampros, Ἱστορικά Μελετήματα, 105-06; Rég. du Patriarcat, no. 1521.

before 1315, along with other metropolitans, the copy of an imperial document. He displays in it his various privileges: hypertimos, exarch of all the Peloponnese and holding the rank of Side.¹ It has been shown recently that a more precise date could be given to these signatures, June either 1298 or 1313.² Since, however, Nicolaos held the rank of Side as is evident from his signature, the document is a proof that he was still alive and in the Capital in June 1313. In this case it would be the aged Nicolaos the anonymous metropolitan of Monemvasia who stood up for the Arsenites in September 1310, even more so since the Monemvasiotes are reported to have been followers of Arsenios during all the controversy.³ Furthermore, one should accept that the Short Notice mentioning the deposition of the metropolitan of Monemvasia, accused of simony before April 1314 by Patriarch Nephon, must refer to Nicolaos. The time between June 1313 and April 1314 is too short for the election of a new metropolitan following Nicolaos's death and his subsequent deposition, while the Synodicon of Monemvasia does not mention any successor to Nicolaos other than Sophronios, after July 1315. The identification of Nicolaos with

¹ V. Laurent, "Un groupe de signatures épiscopales," EO, 32 (1933), 319-23.

² P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachrysanthou, Actes de Lavra, II (Paris, 1979), 72.

³ Laurent, Les faux, 154, n.27.

Atoumanos, mentioned in the notice as metropolitan of Monemvasia, has been rejected because it was believed that Patriarch Nephon would not have dared such a confrontation with the powerful Metropolitan.¹ But Nephon, who apparently was himself suspect of simony and must have had an eye on the rich revenues of Monemvasia, must have attempted the confrontation, since he was finally defeated and deposed in April 1314. On the other hand Nicolaos, who must either have been of Turkish descent or have had Atoumanos as a nickname, must have managed to increase his privileges.² A series of new privileges are granted to the metropolitan of Monemvasia by one of the most controversial Byzantine documents, the so-called false chrysobull of 1293. Since the document has exactly the same prooimion as that of June 1301 it could hardly concern another metropolitan. Since, however, Nicolaos makes no use of the additional privileges in his signature of June 1313, one must date it later. The authenticity of this document has been repeatedly denied, but it is worthwhile to examine the arguments against it.

¹ V. Laurent, "Notes de chronologie et d'histoire byzantine," PEB, 27 (1969), 220-24.

² Laurent, Notes de chronologie, 224 and n. 65.

The allegedly forged chrysobull, which is usually called A, was deposited in Monemvasia up to the 19th century, when it was sent to the National Library in Athens.¹ At about the same time the other chrysobull called B, of June 1301, was also sent to Athens from Kythera. The similarities between the two documents are striking and historians soon linked the two. Both have a miniature with the same subject heading the text. (Pl. 13, 15) The long prooimion is practically word by word the same and so for the most part are the privileges granted.

English { Their differences from the point of view of appearance are first of all in the handwriting. B is written in the well known from other 14th century documents official script of the imperial secretariat whereas A is written in a literary handwriting which contains many ligatures. (Pl. 13, 16-18) In A the word "κράτος" is not found in the beginning of the last line of the text as was usual. (Pl. 18) The date is different and in A has been read as June, 6th

¹ National Library of Athens, ms. EBA 1462. Dölger, Regesten, no. 2238, cf. Laurent, Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 1560. St. Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 274-311, with edition of both documents: B: pp. 306-10 and variations of A: pp. 310-11 with the older views and bibliography.

indictio, 6800, i.e. 1292 or 1293. In B the date is June 14th indictio, 6809, i.e. 1301. The imperial signature instead of the usual final cross has in A three dots. (pl. 18)

From the point of view of contents, to the privileges granted by B the following are added in A. The Metropolitan becomes the only exarch of all the Peloponnese, he has the right to use the title of "παναγιώτατος" and to sign using the indictio but only in his diocese, to wear the "σάκκος" and hold the "διδάμνουλον" during the ceremonies and a new bishopric is given to him: Androusa. Androusa is mentioned in the document as being under Latin rule together with Coron and Modon, whereas Zemenia, which B mentions under Latin rule has been transferred to the group under Greek rule.¹ An extensive description of the limits of the areas under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Monemvasia follows in A, starting from the eastern coast of the Peloponnese, carefully leaving out the region of the metropolis of Lacedaemonia and reaching Pylos on the western coast.²

Due to the impressive similarities it was originally assumed that they were both versions of the same

¹ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), p. 310, nos. 45-52.

² Binon, EO, 37 (1938), pp. 310-11, nos. 52-65. Lampros, "Die erste Erwähnung von Astros," BZ, 2 (1893), 73-75.

chrysobull, which was dated in 6801, i.e. 1293, which is a 6th indictio. As a matter of fact B which does not contain the description of the area of the metropolis was considered a copy of A.¹ It was later maintained that they were two different documents. But again A was set at an earlier date, in accordance to its dating in 1293, and the restriction of the privileges was attributed to the advance of the Franks during the intervening years.² The arguments were not convincing and the following step was to consider A as forged. For its fabrication the compiler of the *Chronicon Maius* Macarios Melissenos was accused.³

Around 1570 Macarios, who was then metropolitan of Monemvasia, came into conflict with the Metropolitan of Christianoupolis, who claimed Androusa and appealed to the Synod. He took with him there along with other chrysobulls and documents chrysobull A. They all mentioned the bishopric of Androusa under the jurisdiction of Monemvasia. The evidence was considered convincing and Macarios was justified.⁴ Macarios Me-

¹ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 289-91.

² A. Heisenberg, "Aus der Geschichte und Literatur des Palaiologenzeit" (Munich, 1920), 30-32; Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 291-92.

³ Dölger, *Makarios*, 371-83; Binon, EO, 37, p. 292.

⁴ Binon, EO, 37, pp. 293-94. The text Miklosich-Müller, V, 178 and J. Oudot, ed. Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani acta selecta, II (Rome, 1967), no. 81, pp. 188-95.

lissenos has become the black sheep of Byzantine documentary evidence and his threatening presence casts a shadow over almost every document or text connected with Monemvasia.¹

The factors which prove, according to the historians, the falsity of A are mainly that the miniature is a clumsy copy of the miniature in B, that the script is of the 16th century by Macarios Melissenos, that the word *κράτος* is not at its proper position and that the signature is not the authentic signature of Andronikos II. Furthermore, concerning the contents, that the prooimion is repeated intact, that the privilege to use the *σάκος* and the *διβάμπουλον* is given, that Androusa is mentioned as a bishopric of Monemvasia and finally that the *περιγραφικός τύπος* has been taken from somewhere else.²

Even though document A is readily accessible it is practically unknown having never been properly

¹ Even the year of his death has been contested, cf. Chassiotis, *Μελισσηνοί*, p.59 n.3,65. On Androusa pp. 23-25, 59. On his forgeries 171-74.

² Dölger, *Makarios*, 373-75, Binon, *EO*, 37 (1938), 282, 285-86, 288-90, 294-95, 297-98.

edited or even photographed, while these opinions are persistently repeated.¹ The detailed examination and the photographs taken led to many interesting observations.² The parchment is 1.60 x 0.24 m. in three pieces. (Pl.14) It has been mounted, probably in the 19th century, on a cloth, which covers all the back, obstructing the observation of the κολλήματα on the reverse. They do not seem, however, to have had anything written on them.³ Glued to the upper part of the document are pieces of the μήρινθος, which should have been attached at the bottom.⁴ (Pl.14) The miniature is badly damaged and in most parts only the preparation remains. (Pl.15) Due to the damages of the miniature previous editors were given the impression of crudeness. However, the parts that remain show that the technique is very close to that of B. (Pl.13) A point to note perhaps is the fact that, while in B the miniature is painted on a separate piece of parchment, in A the piece of parchment is larger and contains some lines of the text also. The older general

¹ It has always been published in connexion with the chrysobull of 1301 and never examined as a separate document.

² I would like to express my warmest gratitude to Dr. P. Nicolopoulos, director of the National Library for giving me permission to photograph and examine the document and Dr. A. Tselikas for his invaluable help with its study. I also thank the photographer D. Kalapodas.

³ Oikonomides, Chancellerie, 177-79; Dölger-Karayannopoulos, 112-16.

⁴ Dölger-Karayannopoulos, 121, 126, 238, 245.

reservations concerning the miniatures on imperial documents, which had also been expressed for B, have lost their importance after the discovery of a whole series of documents with miniatures and there does not seem to be a reason to continue to doubt the authenticity of A on just the grounds of the miniature.¹

Concerning the script the first observation one can make is that it is not forced, it is natural. It is not an effort to reproduce a script which the scribe did not usually employ.² It definitely belongs to the 14th and definitely does not belong to the 16th century.³ It is also certain that it does not belong to Macarios Melissenos, of whose handwriting many examples still exist, including his own transcription of A (Pl.19-24) In his transcription there is a marked effort to imitate the script but the differences are obvious and give a measure of his clumsiness.⁴ As we have seen the script of A is not the one used by the imperial chancellery but the one found in ordinary

¹ Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, 246-47. Based on the assumption of the forgery he does not take the miniature of "1293" into consideration; Alexander, B, 15. (1940-41), 170-72. Cf. Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 284-86, 292.

² I would like to thank professor A. Kominis for this observation.

³ Cf. N. Wilson, Greek literary Bookhands (Cambridge, Mass, 1973).

⁴ Neap.Gr. II.C.35, fols. 62^r-64^v, cited as II.C.36 in the catalogue: S.Cirillo, Codices Graeci MSS. Regiae Bibliothecae Borbonicae, II (Naples, 1832), 25-30. Unpublished.

manuscripts. If A attempted to forge B it would have attempted to imitate the writing also. The lacunae in A are not due to the inability of the forger to read the text he was imitating, as has been maintained, but to damages to the document itself, possibly by water, which has caused the ink to fade. In most places the letters are still faintly visible. The same could be the reason that the date has faded to the point of almost complete disappearance. (pl. 18) These damages existed already when, around 1570 Macarios Melissenos made his transcription, obliging him to leave the lacunae that he did in his text, and in the indictio and the year. (pl. 24) The failure to write the word *κράτος* in its proper position appears in at least two other documents of the early 14th century, written in the literary script, issued by Michael IX.¹ Consequently it is not a decisive factor against the authenticity of the document.

The words , which were added by the emperor in red ink, do not differ from those of other documents of Andronikos II.² The usual sequence *λόγον, λόγου, λόγος*, is wrong and the first is in the genitive instead

¹ Dölger, *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, pl. XIII, chr. for Hilandar, 1319; F. Dölger, *Facsimiles*, no. 26, chr. for Iberon, 1310; Binon, *EO*, 37 (1938), 294.

² Cf. Alexander, *B*, 15.

of the accusative. The error seems unimportant.¹ The month could either be June or July. The indictio begins clearly with a δ. The accent on the ligature of ε, κ, τ, η, σ seems to fall between κ and τ. Consequently the indictio should be read δωδεκάτης and not τῆς ἑκτῆς as is usually proposed.² The years, apart from 6800 written in black ink had a part added by the emperor in red. This part, as was explained, is very faint, almost invisible, but on no account can it be maintained that it has been erased. Most probably it has faded for the same reason as the other lacunae of the document. (Pl.18) Furthermore it must be excluded that this part of the date was added later because the imperial signature covers it. The deciphering of the date is almost impossible. One can discern perhaps with some certainty the letter ε at the beginning and a κ close to it. The final ου is fairly clear. The imperial signature forms a terminus for the dating of the document. Andronikos II stopped using this type of signature in 1316. The letters are completely alike with those of his usual signature as even the advocates of the chrysobull's spuriousness admit.³ The three

¹ Cf. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, p. 281-82 pl.16.

² Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 289, 311.

³ Binon, EO, 37, p. 295.

dots in the place of the cross at the end of the signature cannot be explained even if it is admitted that the document is forged.¹

Examining the contents of A one should observe that the fact... that the two prooimia are identical, even though a rare phenomenon, is not a proof against the authenticity of A. One has to stress again, however, that it would be strange that so personal praises could concern two different metropolitans.²

The impressive privileges gave the metropolitan an extraordinary prestige. The sakkos, the divamboulon used earlier mainly by the Patriarch, the title of panaghiotatos, also a privilege of the Patriarch and the right to sign by the indictio, as well as the large area of jurisdiction gave him almost the status of a mini-patriarch.³

The inclusion of Androusa among the bishoprics

¹ Photograph of both in Binon, EO, 37, after p. 274.

² H. Hunger, Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, I) (Vienna-Graz-Köln, 1964), p.36.

³ There is more evidence now of the use of sakkos by some metropolitans, like of Russia, above ch. 5 II. Cf. Rallès-Potlès, V, 329-30, for Kyzikos.

and the mentioning of Zemena among the towns held by the Greeks must be related to the advance of the Greeks in the Peloponnese from the beginning of the 14th century. The operations, in which certainly the Monemvasiotes participated, developed towards the western and northern Peloponnese.¹ It is characteristic that in the concessions to the monasteries of Mystras, between 1312-13 and 1322 by Andronikos II and Michael IX, lands in Androusa and Karytaena as well as Kernitza and Astros are included.² In the Petition to the Patriarch it is mentioned that Zemena was in Greek hands for more than 100 years before 1428, i.e. before 1328. (Pl. 1) So nothing excludes the possibility that Zemena had already been captured and that the Greek forces hoped to take Androusa soon, although it was destined to fall only a hundred years later. The subordination of Androusa to the metropolis of Monemvasia is usually denied and the sources mentioning it are considered either forged or late, after the forgery of Melissenos.⁴

¹ Bon, Morée, 186-88; Zakythinos, Despotat, I, 69, 329.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 297; Bon, Morée, 220-21.

³ NE, 12 (1915), 309.

⁴ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 292-93, 302.

In the effort to put forward more arguments against the subordination it has even been claimed that if Androusa had not been subordinate to Christianoupolis then it cannot have been to Monemvasia either.¹

In the 14th century it is stated that Christianoupolis, which was situated in the area occupied by the Latins did not have any bishopric.² Even if it is supposed that at a certain time Androusa was put under Christianoupolis, this should cause no surprise. It was often the case, due to the incompetence of the ecclesiastical administration, that a bishopric was given to more than one metropolis. One of the many examples is of Modon and Coron, given to Monemvasia in the late 13th century, later to Patras and then again to Monemvasia without any intermediate annulation^{ment}.³ Also, as we have already seen, it was not clear to which metropolis Amykli belonged, Lacedaemonia or Patras.

Another argument against the authenticity of A is that it has not been taken into account in the two Petitions to the Patriarch. Indeed, their author who

¹ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 293 n.1.

² Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 286-88.

³ Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 279-80.

uses a great number of the documents which were in the Archives of Monemvasia, document B among others, does not refer at all to A and the fact that it appears not to have been available between 1426 and 1428 is strange.¹ Its absence, however, could have to do with the bad state of its conservation. One wonders whether this should not be attributed to turmoils like the short occupation of Monemvasia in 1394 by the Turks, if, that is to say, it was not hidden and then forgotten in the hiding place, along with another damaged document, the chrysobull of John Kantakouzenos, which was also apparently missing when the Petitions were composed.²

The examination of the document showed that there is no reason why Andronikos II should not have issued after 1301 another chrysobull to honour the old Metropolitan once more. Since in 1313 Nicolaos did not use the privilege of sole exarch for the whole of the Peloponnese, but that of exarch for the whole of the Peloponnese, it must have been issued later. If indeed one

¹ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 292.

² Both or one of the two were, however, available in 1527 when the Monemvasiotes asked the Venetians to confirm the boundaries of their territory with Argolis according to the imperial documents. Sathas, Documents Inédits, IV, 228-29.

accepted the reading of the indictio as "δωδεκάτης", then the year 1314, 6822, is a 12th indictio. The fact that certain characters in the faded section of the date correspond to this reading, reinforces this interpretation. Consequently chrysobull A could have been issued in June or July 1314, and was possibly issued after Nephon's deposition as a recompense for the persecution that Nicolâos had suffered during his Patriarchate. Since for a whole year the See of the Patriarch remained vacant no Synodical act relevant to the chrysobull was issued.¹ The impression that the date delivered by the document was earlier than that contained in the chrysobull of 1301 was responsible for the confusion concerning the conditions in which both documents were issued and the general adoption of the view that chrysobull A was a forgery of Macarios Melissenos.

¹ Laurent, Chronologie, 219-28.

² A copy (25,2x144,3cm) of A was recently detected in the Library of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, ms no. 1677, by M. Balivet, whom I thank for the information. It is made on parchment and some space has been left for the miniature to be added. The scribe has tried to imitate the imperial script and used red ink in the relevant words. The script must date in the late 18th century and could belong to Nicolaos Karatzas. The manuscript belonged to Vladimir Mirmiroglou, Megas Rhetor of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, who sold it to the Library on 7.II.1956.

VII. The successors of Nicolaos and the Palamite controversy

The signature of Sophronios, the next metropolitan after Nicolaos, as mentioned in the Synodicon, is found after the ordination of Patriarch John Glykys in July 1315.¹ Nothing is known about Sophronios except that he was constantly present in the Synod in Constantinople up to 1317-18.²

Ioannis, his successor could have already been ordained in September 1324 and could have been present when the aid for the Patriarchate of Constantinople by the metropolises under its jurisdiction was decided. The list which appears in the Register of the Patriarchate depicts very clearly the situation existing at the time within the Empire which is reflected in the affairs of the church also. (Pl.25) It was decided that each metropolis should contribute a certain sum according to its potential. The poorest, Kypsela, contributes 16 hyperpera and five metropolises follow offering 24, five offering 36, Patras offers 40, six Sees 50, Lacedaemonia 60, Traianoupolis 70, Prokonisos 72, seven offer 100, Serres 150, and finally Herkleia, Thessaloniki and Kyzikos 200. Compared to

¹ Darrouzès, Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2032. Miklosich-Müller, I, 3-6; Actes d'Esphigménou, p.189.

² Régestes du Patriarcat, numbers 2033, 2034, 2043, 2044, 2048, 2049, 2052, 2056, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2073, 2078.

these contributions that of Monemvasia presents a gigantic difference. Monemvasia contributes one third of the contribution of the metropolises of the whole Byzantine Empire, 800 hyperpera.¹ It is reasonable to accept that this burden was not imposed when the See of Monemvasia was vacant, while the metropolitan involved was absent. Consequently Ioannis must have been ordained in 1324 or earlier. His last appearance in the Synod was in April 1329.²

There is no information concerning the metropolis for some years and in 1341 it is mentioned that it had been vacant "for quite some time already". Shortly before summer 1341, at the beginning of the controversy bearing his name, the See of Monemvasia was offered to Gregory Palamas. It was a great honour, as the Patriarch Ioannis Calecas stresses, but Palamas refused it.³ It was subsequently offered to a close follower of his, Isidore, who accepted and already before October 1341 was elected metropolitan of Monemvasia. However, he was never ordained. Nevertheless

¹ Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2119; Miklosich-Müller, I, 126-29, H. Hunger-O. Kresten, Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, I.1315-1331 (Vienna, 1981), 502-09. PLP, no. 8618.

² Régestes du Patriarcat, nos. 2135, 2149.

³ Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2216; Jean Meyendorff, Introduction à l'Étude de Grégoire Palamas (Paris, 1959), 80; Laurent, Synodicon, 149-50.

Isidore living in Constantinople, developed his activities as if he were full metropolitan. He took part in the Synod regularly and guided his flock with which he had close contacts, because many of them visited the Capital. They even brought him his revenue. As we have seen, he had close relations with certain very wealthy Monemvasiotes, close friends of John Kantakouzenos.¹ The situation remained virtually unchanged for some years and due to the opposition of the Patriarch the ordination of Isidore never took place, on the contrary in November 1344 he was deposed and anathematized and a new person was elected, Iakovos Koukounaris, for whom nobody had any respect.² Strangely for the pro-palamite Monemvasia Koukounaris is mentioned in the Synodicon but not Isidore.

After the victory of Palamism, Isidore was elected Patriarch of Constantinople in 1347 and Koukounaris was expelled.³ In the Register of the Patriarchate there is an entry, shortly after 1348, of an act concerning

¹ Régestes du Patriarcat, nos. 2227, 2235, 2243, Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Zitijs*, 52-149. Cf. Tsamis, Φιλόθεου, 327-423. PLP no. 3140.

² Régestes du Patriarcat, nos. 2250, 2256; R.-J. Loenertz, "Dix-huit lettres de Grégoire Acindyne analysées et datées," Byzantina et Franco-Graeca, II (Rome, 1970), no. 7, pp. 89-92, 130-31; Laurent, *Synodicon*, 149-50; Tsamis, Φιλόθεου, 372 n. 203, on the meaning of a notice concerning Koukounaris: "τοῦ ἐπιβεβηκότος τῆς Πέλοπος πίστακος", Loenertz, 89-92, from the tree *Pistacia Terebinthus*, and the joke concerning Koukounaris's surname.

³ Rég. du Patr., nos. 2270, 2273; Laurent, *Synod.*, 150.

Monemvasia. The beginning is missing but from the rest we learn that the Metropolitan of Patras was ready to set out for his See when God held him back and he was transferred to Monemvasia.¹ It would, however, be difficult to identify this Metropolitan whose name is not mentioned with Metrophanes who had held the See of Patras for many years, even though he was in Constantinople at least until 1346. His earlier conflict with Isidore would preclude such an honour being bestowed on him. On the contrary the unnamed metropolitan could have been Dorotheos, who is mentioned after Koukounaris in the Synodicon.²

The election of the metropolitan, as well as the imperial chrysobull and the patriarchal sigillion, which followed, could be the result of the efforts of the influential Monemvasiotes in the Capital, some of whom, like Nicolaos, were close friends of both the Emperor and the Patriarch. The existence of a chrysobull by John Kantakouzenos was only known from its reference in the Synodical decision of 1570 concerning Androusa and a few other sources.³

¹ Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2297; Miklosich-Müller, I, 274-75; Laurent, Synodicon, 151, Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 277.

² Régestes du Patriarcat, nos. 2264, 2289, 2297; Laurent, Synodicon, 151. PLP, 5929.

³ Miklosich-Müller, V, 176; Ps. Dorotheos, 403; D.M. Nicol, "The Doctor-Philosopher John Comnen of Bucarest and his biography of the Emperor John Kantakouzenos," RESEE, 9 (1971), 522-23; E. Voordeckers, "La 'Vie de Jean Cantacuzène' par Jean-Hiérothée Comnène," JÖB, 20 (1971), 168; I. Medvedev, VV, 36 (1974), 145-46.

Its text was recently found. A sigillion by Patriarch Isidore is mentioned in the Petition to the Patriarch. Considering that it was related to the subordination of Maina and Zemena to Monemvasia and since, as we will see, this subordination was ratified by the chrysobull, we must assume that the two documents were connected and one followed the other, according to the prevailing practice.¹

The chrysobull has reached us in an 18th century copy made in Constantinople by the scholar and collector of documents Nicolaos Karatzas.² He noted that he had copied it from the original in Constantinople. It is unknown how and why it had remained there.³ Unfortunately the document has many lacunae which make its full comprehension difficult. Possibly they are due to the damaged condition of the original and since, as was mentioned earlier, this document too is not mentioned in the Petitions to the Patriarch it is possible that it had the same luck as the so-called false chrysobull of Andronikos II.

¹ NE, 12 (1915), 282, ll. 9-11; Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2298.

² Medvedev, VV, 32, pp. 223-231; Fonkič, VV, 37, pp. 140-46.

³ Fonkič, VV, 37, p. 143, pl. 2.

The chrysobull begins with a short prooimion concerning the city and its church, echoing the praises in the documents of Andronikos II, stating that previous emperors gave Monemvasia a higher rank and a large property.¹ The section following is not complete. It is understood that apparently the Emperor had the intention to make a donation or a dedication to the metropolis of Monemvasia and this is the Castle of the Archangeloi, at or near "Χοιρόλακκοι".² Further on it is mentioned that this bull ratifies the "ancient" and later chrysobulls of previous emperors in order to prevent any disputes.³ Such is the case with the Metropolitan of Lacedaemonia concerning the small town of Stena and of Arsakas, which were situated near the boundaries of the diocese.⁴ So, following the request of the Metropolitan, the Emperor grants the chrysobull which stipulates that the metropolis of Monemvasia can possess and occupy some possessions, unknown, on account of another lacuna, possibly Archangeloi, Stena and Arsakas, with, it continues, the revenue of their serfs.⁵ After several more phrases it is repeated that

¹ First edition by Medvedev, VV, 32, pp.227-28. Dölger, Regesten, no. 3029. Prooimion, p.227, ll.6-13.

² Medvedev, VV, 32, p. 227, ll. 13-17.

³ VV, 32, p. 227, ll. 17-20.

⁴ VV, 32, p. 227, ll. 20-24.

⁵ VV, 32, p. 227, ll. 24-30.

the possessions of the Metropolis and particularly Stena and Arsakas are confirmed in eternity according to the chrysobulls of the deceased emperors Matthaïos, Constantine Poghonatos, Alexios Komnenos, Andronikos Palaeologos.¹ Also it is stated that the metropolitan is the only exarch in the Peloponnese, in accordance too with other chrysobulls, and holds the rank of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as well as all the other gifts and all the bishoprics which he held, i.e. Kythera, Helos, Maina, Rheon, Zemena, Coron, Modon and Androusa.² These bishoprics are contained within the circumscription, which the Emperor declares unaltered forever. Its description is practically identical with that given by the chrysobull of Andronikos II.³ Further on follow certain formalities concerning the confirmation of the possessions of the metropolis. A stern warning is addressed to the Metropolitan of Lacedaemonia not to raise any claims against Monemvasia.⁴ The document ends with an incomplete date, October, 9th indictio, 68.., and the imperial signature.⁵

With this chrysobull something important had been added to the possessions of the metropolis of Monemvasia

¹ Medvedev, VV, 32, p. 227, ll. 30-44.

² VV, 32, p. 227, ll. 44-49.

³ VV, 32, p. 227, ll. 49-54, p. 228, ll. 55-72.

⁴ VV, 32, p. 228, ll. 72-86.

⁵ VV, 32, p. 228, ll. 86-90.

the castle of Archangeloï with its serfs. It was situated in Messenia, not far from Ithome.¹ The controversy between the two metropolitans, which is settled with this document, is not mentioned in other sources. The small town of Stena might well be Sochà, mentioned in the chrysobull of Andronikos II, which was situated near Arsakas.² (Pl. 1) The two towns are situated very near Amykli, which was the object of the dispute earlier between Nicolaos and Nicephoros Moschopoulos. It is also known that in 1340-41 a similar dispute had arisen between Neilos of Lacedaemonia and Metrophanes of Patras. It is possible that Neilos was still heading Lacedaemonia and still coveted these parts.³ This could be the reason for the hurried transfer of the Metropolitan of Patras to Monemvasia, machinated by the strong Monemvasiot lobby in Constantinople.

Apart from settling these somewhat trivial differences, the chrysobull substitutes the privilege of

¹ Bon, Morée, 418, 427-28, mentioning "Sancto Archangiolo alli Lacchi". On Χοιρόλακκοι and other place-names contained in the circumscription: P. Velisariou, "Χοιρόλακκοι," Πελοποννησιακά, 16 (1985-86), 418-22.

² Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 310, ll. 59-60. H.A. Ormerod, "Laconia. II Topography," BSA, 16 (1909-10), 64-71.

³ Régestes du Patriarcat, no, 2202. Zakythinos, Despotat, II, 286.

topos of Side with that of the topos of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, bringing the status of Monemvasia even closer to that of a Patriarch.. This hierarchical position of Monemvasia, which is mentioned in the sources, was considered before the discovery of the text of the chrysobull, enigmatic.¹ It has been assumed that use of the topos of Jerusalem was first made by Dositheos, metropolitan of Monemvasia during the Council of Ferrara-Florence, and that this personal privilege of Dositheos was subsequently used by his successors.² The chrysobull proves that they rightfully used this extraordinary privilege, which had been granted a hundred years before the Council of Florence.

The chronological indications offered by the existing copy are not very helpful. Neither John VI nor Isidore who issued the, most probably, relevant sigillion held their office during a 9th indictio. Consequently it must be a mistake of the transcriber who misread the elaborate ἐνθῆτοι λέξεις of the damaged original and could not even read the second part of the date. On the contrary it could be accepted that his reading of the month is correct, because the spelling of October is characteristic.

¹ Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 296.

² Laurent, Syropoulos, 254-56.

One could try to date the document on the basis of the historical events. The sigillion and the chrysobull followed the election of a new metropolitan of Monemvasia. Consequently they were issued after September 1348. Assuming that the two documents were connected, the chrysobull cannot have been issued after October 1349, because Isidore died before October 1350.¹ Consequently it was issued either in 1348 or in 1349. Even though 1348 seems very close to his election for the Metropolitan to have had the time to inform himself on the problems of his new See and the claims of Lacedaemonia, it is possible that these problems were known to the influential Monemvasiote friends of the Emperor and the Patriarch who acted for his nomination. Consequently the chrysobull of John VI Kantakouzenos was quite possibly issued in October, indictio 2, 6857, i.e. 1348 or the following year, indictio 3, 6858, i.e. 1349.²

The authenticity of the document has been contested on the basis of the arguments used against the authenticity of the chrysobull of Andronikos II of 1314,

¹ Above, 391-92.

² On 2.XII.1349: V. Laurent, "La Chronologie des Patriarches de Constantinople de la première moitié du XIVe siècle (1294-1350)," REB, 7(1949), 154-55. On the sigillion, Rég. du Patr., no. 2298.

mainly the inclusion of Androusa among the bishoprics of Monemvasia, and was ascribed to the hand of Macarios Melissenos.¹ The reasons why the arguments against the authenticity of the chrysobull of 1314 do not stand have already been examined earlier.² Consequently the same arguments do not stand against the authenticity of the chrysobull by John Kantakouzenos. The argument that the indictio given in the copy does not correspond to John's reign is not conclusive, considering that we only have a copy of the 18th century, which quite possibly misread a badly damaged original. On the other hand it is most improbable that Macarios Melissenos fabricated a document, which granted him such an important privilege as the topos of the Patriarch of Jerusalem and did not make use of this privilege at the Synod in 1570, when, on the contrary, he asked for the confirmation of the much lower topos of Side. This gives also another proof of his illiteracy and his difficulty in understanding the older documents.³

¹ Medvedev, VV, 32, 229-30; Fonkić, VV, 37, p. 145.

² Above, ch. 6 VI.

³ Miklosich-Müller, V, 177.

VIII . Controversies in the Peloponnese

It is not known how long the Metropolitan, for whom the chrysobull of Kantakouzenos was issued, held the See of Monemvasia nor when he was followed by his successor, Joseph, according to the Synodicon.¹ In 1367 the Metropolitan of Monemvasia is mentioned as residing in his See. A gap in the information follows until August 1383, when the Metropolitan, whose name is not given, is mentioned participating in the Synod of Constantinople.³ Another gap follows, which might be an indication that metropolitan Joseph attested in 1386 is still another metropolitan, possibly the second Joseph of the Synodicon.⁴ Joseph is found in February 1389 among the members of the Synod, who took important decisions concerning the Church of Russia and other subjects.⁵ Due to the critical situation in the Peloponnese, which led to the Turkish occupation of Monemvasia in 1394, Joseph, apparently, had to return to his See, where he was needed.⁶

¹ According to the Synodicon, if the previous was Dorotheos and if he had died by 1367. PLP no.9035.

² Darrouzès, Régestes du Patriarcat, no.2532.

³ Régestes du Patriarcat, no, 2756.

⁴ Régestes du Patriarcat, nos.2796, 2805. PLP, no.9036.

⁵ Rég. du Patr., 2847-9; Sorlin, REB, 43(1985), 253-58.

⁶ Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2928.

In February 1394 a new metropolitan was appointed in Corinth, Theognostos, who received also the metropolis of Christianoupolis κατ'ἐπίδοσιν, just like his predecessor.¹ Theognostos was very close to the Patriarch Antonios and resided in Constantinople and took part in the Synod regularly.² In September 1394 Theognostos received his first privileges thanks, no doubt, to his relation with the Patriarch. He became hyper-timos and exarch for the whole of the Peloponnese and was given also the Patriarchal exarchate in the Peloponnese, which had been given in 1354 to the metropolitans of Monemvasia. He also received the metropolis of Kerkyra and the bishopric of Leukas.³ It is characteristic of the incompetence of the ecclesiastical administration that the officials in Constantinople would not find older references and Theognostos was asked to find out for himself if the two Sees had already been given to the metropolis of Ioannina. Apparently, by the time that part of the Peloponnese had been recovered from the Franks and a metropolitan of Corinth was regularly appointed residing in the

¹ Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2949.

² Régestes du Patriarcat, nos. 2959, 2965, 2967.
The appointment of the metropolitan as an exarch.
in Régestes, no. 2354.

³ Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 2969.

Capital, it had been forgotten which bishoprics had previously been under his jurisdiction. In September 1394, after the death of Nerio Acciaiuoli it looked as if Corinth could at last come into Greek hands again. The Metropolitan anticipating the liberation of the city, hastened to his See, and there he tried to collect information concerning the Church of Corinth and to reestablish its older possessions. In August 1395 Theognostos returned to Constantinople.¹

After the death of Joseph, a new metropolitan, Akakios, was elected for Monemvasia in January 1397, who is mentioned as exarchos of the Peloponnese during his participation in the Synod.² In March or April 1397 Theognostos, the metropolitan of Corinth, claimed back from Monemvasia the bishoprics of Maina and of Zemena. Akakios professed complete ignorance of the fact that the two bishoprics had ever belonged to Corinth, said that he had never set foot on the Peloponnese and that he would not have accepted the See of Monemvasia if he had known of these complications. The decision was taken in defiance of all rules, by the Synod comprising only five metropolitans instead of the minimum of twelve, with

¹ Régestes du Patriarcat, nos. 3005-9.

² Régestes du Patriarcat, no. 3035. The date, p. 297, should be corrected to 1397. PLP no. 477.

three votes in favour of the return, the Metropolitan of Monemvasia being part of the majority! The Metropolitan of Corinth wanting to show that he had not exploited the ignorance of Akakios, whereas he had admitted the status quo with his predecessor, accepted that the transfer should be put into effect after the death of Akakios.¹

Akakios the elderly, as he is surnamed, who was nearly elected Patriarch, had perfect relations with the imperial family, particularly during their sojourn in the area of Monemvasia from 1400 to 1403. He personally was entrusted with the regular holding of masses in memory of the children of Manuel II who had been buried there. To this end Despot Theodore issued the argyroboullon which was ratified in 1405 with the imperial chrysobull, by which the Metropolitan was granted the town of Helikovounon with its tower and territory.² By 1408-09 Akakios had probably died, since he is not mentioned among the participants of the Synod for the deposition of Macarios of Ancyra.³

¹ Régestes du Patriarcat, no . 3044 ; NE, 12 (1915), 272-318; Laurent, Les faux, 156-58.

² Régestes, no .3059.

³ V. Laurent, "Le Trisépiscopat du Patriarche Matthieu 1^{er}," REB, 30 (1972), 56-58 the list of the participants. In 1403 he had, however, voted by proxy, pp. 38-39, which he could have done again, had he been alive.

The Synodical decision of 1570 mentions one more chrysobull by Manuel II for the metropolis of Monemvasia, which assured the possession of Androusa.¹ In the same way as in the chrysobull of John Kantakouzenos the reference to Androusa and its possession could have been indirect and the chrysobull could not have been issued specifically for that matter.² The date of its issue cannot be set without further information. It could have been issued after the Emperor's return from his journey in Europe. The selling of Corinth to the Knights of Saint John, the disappearance of Theognostos, the confusion following the election of Matthaios of Kyzikos as Patriarch, the siege of Constantinople by the Turks, and other important events caused the cession of the two bishoprics to Corinth to be forgotten. It is possible that Nicolaos Eudaemonoiannis had to do with the issuing of the chrysobull in which case it must date after 1407.

The successor of Akakios, Cyril, to whom the Synodicon dedicates many praises, regularly employed Isidore, who as a monk had settled in Laconia.³

¹ Miklosich-Müller, V, 176.

² Dölger, Regesten, no. 3401.

³ It is most improbable that Isidore ever became metropolitan of Monemvasia as Zakythinos, Mélanges Merlier, holds. The arguments against it in Laurent, Isidore, 150-57.

Isidore prepared for Cyril the text with benedictions which the new Metropolitan, according to custom, delivered upon his entrance in his new See, dedicated to his See, to the Emperor and to the Despot.¹ In the one dedicated to the Emperor, the Metropolitan prays God to help him subdue the barbarians, who had surrounded and "like dogs" were trying to tear them to pieces. He also refers to John not yet co-emperor and the "new Augusta", the Russian born Anna, whose wedding to John was apparently still recent.² The siege of Constantinople by the Turks lasted for the whole of 1411 up to March 1412 and the wedding of John took place in 1411. Consequently the benedictions must have been written late in 1411 or the beginning of 1412. The election of Cyril must be set a little earlier, before the siege started, since he was able to leave the capital.³ A confirmation of the date of election of Cyril is found in the text of the Petitions to the Patriarch written again by Isidore for Cyril. It is defined that the second Petition has been written 127 years after the issuing of the chrysobull of Andronikos II, i.e. $1301+127=1427$ or 1428, and furthermore 16 years after the election of the Metropolitan, i.e.

¹ Above, pp.302-03.

² Ziegler, OCP, 21 (1955), 330, 11.16-18, 24-30.

³ Nicol, 1261-1453, 341-42, Schreiner, Chronologische Untersuchungen, 294.

1427 or 1428- 16= 1411 or 1412.¹

The first years of the presence of Cyril in Monemvasia were apparently quiet. In 1418-19, however, a new bishop of Maina was ordained. This bishop was the cause of a prolonged controversy. His behaviour was a scandal. He did not reside in his diocese, he consented to various irregular deeds, as anti-canonical marriages, divorces and ordinations, he accepted money which he had no right to from priests and his flock, he committed usury. His provocative behaviour brought strong and widespread reactions. But the bishop was supported by the Metropolitans of Lacedaemonia and Patras and the Despot. The Metropolitan of Lacedaemonia allowed him to reside in a monastery in the area of Lacedaemonia in breach of the rules. Cyril exposed the case personally to the Patriarch but to no avail, due to the interference of the supporters of the bishop. He was, furthermore, offended by the Patriarch who sent him letters through the Metropolitan of Corinth and the bishop of Maina. In these letters he was reprimanded instead of the bishop of Maina being punished. Interested in safeguarding the authority of the episcopal office Cyril sent in 1425-26 a first Petition, composed by Isidore, to Patriarch Joseph II. Following this severe report and

¹ NE, 12 (1915), 277, 283.

the pressure of the congregation gathered in Constantinople, the bishop of Maina was deposed the same year.¹

However, this wicked man took his revenge by causing the enforcement of the Synodical act of 1397 concerning the return to Corinth of the bishoprics of Maina and Zemena. Apparently Zemena had already been transferred to Corinth and consequently the decision concerning Zemena did not annoy the Metropolitan of Monemvasia. On the contrary the return of Maina to Corinth which was realized during his absence caused his vigorous protests and the composition of the second Petition demanding the suspension of the decision.²

Written by Isidore in 1427-28, the Petition contains a large amount of evidence methodically collected supporting his case. The Metropolitan begins by expressing his bitterness for the way in which this story was devised, without his being asked to be present, in order to defend himself, and all this out of personal spite against him. He then refers to the origins of the case of Maina and Zemena their rendering to Corinth in 1397 after an anti-canonical session of the Synod, when only four prelates were present apart from Monemvasia's. He lists in detail the pri-

¹ NE, 12 (1915), 258-72, 276.

² NE, 12 (1915), 273-276.

villeges concerning the See of Monemvasia going six hundred years back and never omits to underline the large numbers of those present when the decisions were taken. Discussing the sigillion of Andronikos II, which mentions the bishoprics which were taken from Corinth and given to Monemvasia, he stresses the part where it is mentioned that Corinth was under Latin occupation and the Metropolitan of Monemvasia succoured the refugees from there. The cession of the two bishoprics was the just reward by the emperor for his good deeds. He tries, however, to prove that there was no connection between the conquest of Corinth by the Franks and the grant of the bishoprics to Monemvasia, stressing that during the whole period of the occupation of Corinth metropolitans were ordained. If these rights existed earlier metropolitans would have claimed them.¹

Knowing the difficulty Isidore must have faced in checking older references, his evidence is impressive. He uses a large number of sources from imperial documents to hagiographical texts.²

After the journey of the Metropolitan followed by Isidore to Constantinople, this complicated case was brought to an end. It had, however, resulted in

¹ NE, 12 (1915), 273-318.

² Binon, EO, 37 (1938), 287 n.5.

the compilation of valuable information on Monemvasia. A chrysobull and a sigillion confirmed the return of Haina and Zemena to the metropolis of Monemvasia.¹ It has to be noted that the chrysobull by John VIII, the text of which has not survived, was one of those used by Macarios Melissenos as evidence of the possession of Androusa by Monemvasia.² A Short Chronicle preserves a summary of this document, in which, curiously, Androusa is not mentioned among the other bishoprics. This was considered hastily as a proof that the chrysobull was forged by Macarios Melissenos.³ However, the summary does not omit only Androusa but two more bishoprics, which definitely belonged to Monemvasia at that time, Kythera and Helos. These omissions must be attributed to other reasons, e.g. the carelessness of the author of the Short Chronicle, and do not prove that Melissenos tampered with the text of the chrysobull.

Cyril does not seem to have returned to Monemvasia after his justification in 1428. Death must have found him in Constantinople and Isidore returned alone to Laconia. Next year, however, he left again first

¹ Mentioned in the Synodical decision of 1570, Miklosich-Müller, V, 176.

² Dölger, Regesten, no. 3518.

³ Giving the exact date 1428-29: Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, no. 32/41, I, p. 326; II, pp. 436-37.

for Constantinople, then for the Council of Basle and finally went as a metropolitan to Russia. A pro-unionist, like Isidore, was elected metropolitan of Monemvasia, Dositheos, ex-metropolitan of Trebizond, the tutor of Bessarion.¹ Dositheos had been persuaded to resign from the See of Trebizond in 1422 in order to be transferred somewhere else, possibly to Monemvasia. He had to wait for several years though and remained in Constantinople without governing any See up to 1430-31.² If he had indeed resigned with Monemvasia in mind then this is another proof not only how important Monemvasia was considered but also how systematically John VIII tried to promote to important posts friends of the Union.³ The activities of Dositheos in Monemvasia are not known. His presence in the area is indirectly attested from the presence there of Bessarion. A sigillion of Patriarch Metrophanes II is also mentioned, coinciding with his office, for an unknown subject, in which the possession of Androusa by Monemvasia was mentioned. Androusa by then was in Greek hands.⁴

¹ Laurent, *Synodicon*, 155-58. PLP, no. 5642.

² Laurent, *Syropoulos*, 248, 11.32-35; Laurent, 249 n.2, misinterprets the passage believing that he was transferred to Monemvasia against his will. Laurent, *Synodicon*, 156-57.

³ Cf. Laurent, *Syropoulos*, 184-85.

⁴ Niklosich Müller, V, 176; Bon, Morée, 285.

On the other hand several details are known concerning Dositheos in connection with the Council of Florence. Together with the other participants he set out in December 1437 from the Peloponnese. It is interesting to note again that during the Council he made use of the privilege of the topos of Jerusalem, which had been granted to him by the chrysobull of John Kantakouzenos, which has been considered forged.¹

Dositheos does not seem to have returned from the Council to his See, where, as in the rest of the Empire, the strife between the Unionists and the anti-Unionists reigned. Perhaps he never returned to Monemvasia. The Emperor ceded him the monastery of Prodromos in the Capital, where he remained as abbot.² It is certain that he had died by September 1450, because the Synodicon of Monemvasia at that date includes him among the deceased prelates of the city. The following name in the Synodicon, Joseph, is found in other sources thirty years later, in 1483 in Modon.³

¹ Laurent, Syropoulos, 164, 194, 246, 248, 254-56.

² Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, I, 22, 178, 181-82. Laurent, Synodicon, 157.

³ M. Manoussacas, "Ἀρχιερεῖς Μεθώνης, Κορώνης καὶ Μονεμβασίας γύρω στὰ 1500," Πελοποννησιακά, 3 (1959), 104-05. PLP, no. 9037.

But the See had not remained vacant. Earlier in 1460, when Morea was surrendered to the Turks, the See of Monemvasia was held by a metropolitan who is mentioned by the delegation which went in September 1460 to Italy and entrusted Monemvasia to Pope Pius II. Due to his participation in this movement it must be considered certain that, like his predecessor, he too was a pro-Unionist.¹

The enthralling sequel of the ecclesiastical history of Monemvasia belongs to periods which are outside the scope of this study.²

¹ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Miscellanea, Arm. IX, tom. 15, Lett. M e N , fol. 154^r; Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici, 55.

² Manoussacas, 'Αρχιερεῖς, 105-47.

Conclusions

When in September 1460 Pope Pius II received the ambassadors from Monemvasia and took the city under his protection, he issued a bull confirming the privileges that had been granted to it by the byzantine Emperors, while noting in his "commentaries" that Monemvasia had been a naval city and was the continuation of ancient Sparta.

With these two references of his, Pius touched on the two most important points in the history of Monemvasia, i.e. that it was the continuation of Sparta and that it had preserved certain privileges, which originated in early ages and had been preserved by imperial documents. If the move of the inhabitants of Sparta during the second half of the 6th century can be justified by the prevailing, at the time, conditions within the Empire, it is, however, noteworthy that the inhabitants of the new city not only did not forget their descent during the following centuries but took care to preserve, under completely different circumstances, the institutions and privileges which their city had inherited from previous eras. This evolution, which kept Monemvasia outside the byzantine administration, could explain the lack of references

to the city during many centuries, as is the case with other self-governed cities. It also explains the issuing of an important number of imperial documents regulating the relations between the city and the central administration, that is to say, the safeguarding of the old institutions while adjusting to changing conditions.

The difficulty in comprehending these particular elements of the history of Monemvasia and their explanation perplexed the historians and led to the theory of the forged documents, which, however, instead of explaining things led to a vicious circle. It was shown, however, by their analysis, that, if the documents are examined within their context, they present no explanatory problems, on the contrary, they are a valuable material concerning the history of Monemvasia and the byzantine administration and its peculiarities.

This material the inhabitants of Monemvasia took great care to preserve in their Archives ever since the foundation of the city and even after the fall of the Empire, when the privileges granted by the byzantine emperors lost all meaning. And even though Pope Pius II acknowledged them, they were completely ignored by the ensuing conquerors, however much prestige they

kept giving to Monemvasia. Alongside other documents of the ecclesiastical See they continued to be guarded in the city's Archives from where they were recovered when necessity had it for reference or to be copied, to be returned to their place afterwards. Such was the case when controversy arose in 1528 concerning the boundaries between Monemvasia and Nauplion and the chrysobull containing the circumscription was shown to the Venetian authorities.

Such was also the case in 1570 when dispute arose between Monemvasia and Christianoupolis concerning Androusa. Metropolitan Macarios took with him to the Synod at Constantinople a series of imperial and patriarchal documents, which he used as evidence. It is known that when he returned they were put back into the Archives, while it does not seem that he took any of the original documents from there when, later, he left the Peloponnese for the West. He did, however, copy several of these documents, as Ioannis Likinios and others also did.

The Archives continued up to the mid-seventeenth century to include an important number of documents. Then their dispersion becomes more obvious: two original chrysobulls are reported to be in Constantinople and another at Kythera at the middle of the century.

By the time that the new Greek State was founded and Kapodistrias the first "Governor" visited Monemvasia, only one document remained, ironically, the chrysobull by Andronikos II which confused the historians so much and slandered the Monemvasiotes. Few years later this too was sent to Athens and the Archives of the city of Monemvasia containing the "Imperial Privileges" ceased to exist.

A P P E N D I X

List of the documents of Monemvasia

No.	Imper.	Other	Date	Issuer	Kind	Contents	References
1	I		592-93 6101, ind.11	Maurice	Sigillion (Chrysobull?)	Privileges for the city and See	Dölger, 92 Ps.Phrant- zes, 538; <u>VV</u> ,32,p.227
2	II		680-84	Constan- tine Po- ghonatos	Sigillion (Chrysobull?)	Privileges for the city	<u>VV</u> ,32,p.227
3	III		ca. 1082	Alexios Komnenos	Chrysobull	Privileges for the city and See	Dölger.1288 Ps.Phrant- zes,538; <u>VV</u> ,32,p.227
4		a	ca. 1252	William Villehar- douin	Grammata (Chrysobull?)	Privileges for the city	<u>XTM</u> ,vv.2937- 2940;Ps.Do- rotheos,475
5	IV		1266?	Michael VIII	Chrysobull	Privileges for the city	Dölger,1897 Chrys. 6.V <u>MM</u> ,V,154-55
6	V		1284 Aug. 6792 ind.12	Androni- kos II	Chrysobull	Privileges for the city	Copy Dölger,2102 <u>MM</u> ,V,154-55
7	VI		1291-2 (6800 ind.5)	Androni- kos II	Prostagma	Privileges for the See	Ps.Phrantzes, 538; <u>Kl.Chr.</u> , 32/12
8		i	1291-2	Patr.A- thanasio- s I	Patr.sigilli- on	Privileges for the See	<u>MM</u> ,II,288-9
9	VII		1299- 1300	Michael IX	Chrysobull	Privileges for the city	Chrys.16.XII Ps.Phrant- zes,538
10	VIII		1300 April ind.13	Androni- kos II	Prostagma	Privileges for the See	Copy <u>REB</u> ,21,pp. 144-47

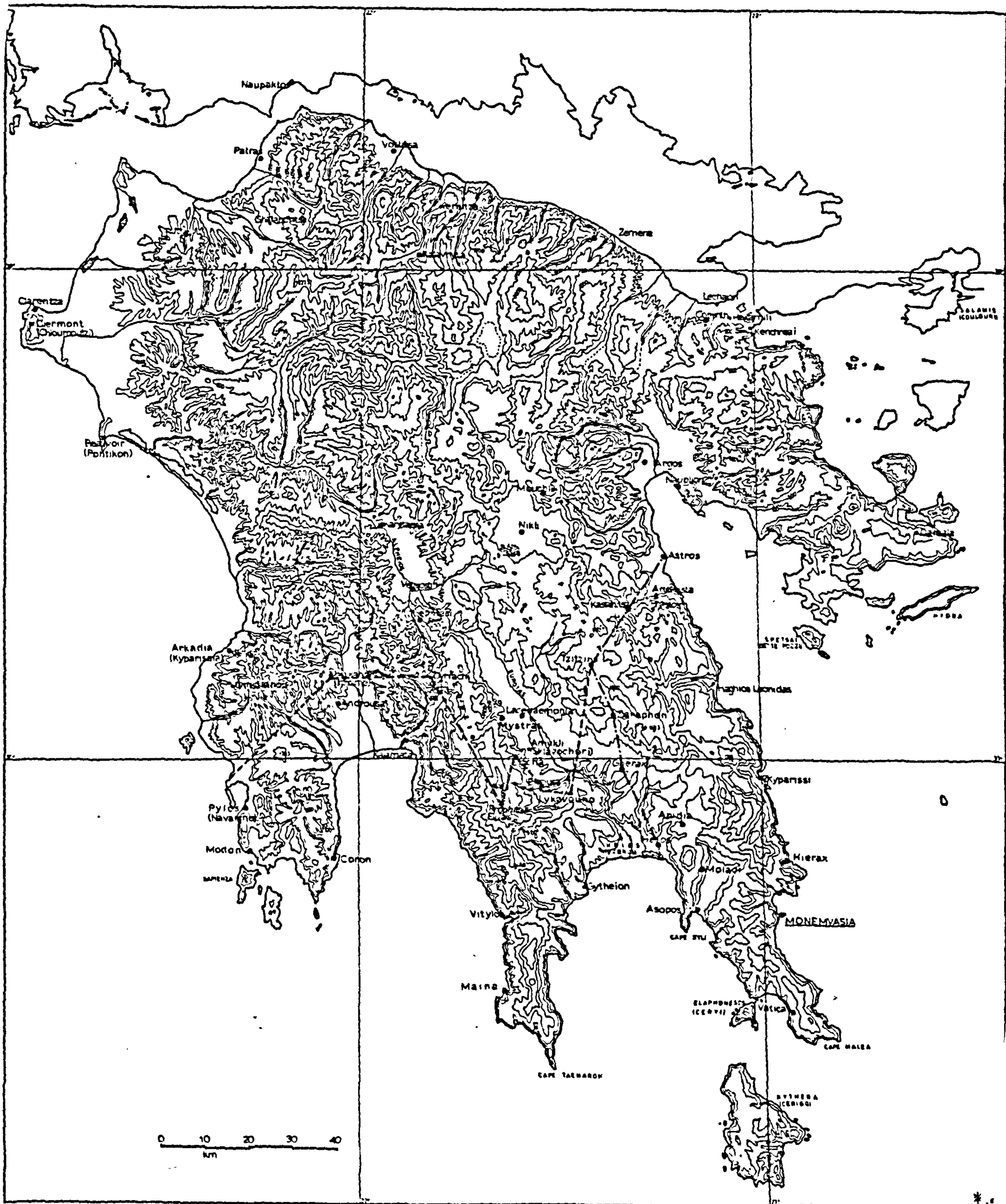
No.	Imper.	Other	Date	Issuer	Kind	Contents	References
11		ii	1300 April ind.13	Patr. John XII	Synodical Act	Privileges for the See	Copy REB, 21, pp. 147-49
12	IX		1301 June 6809 ind.14	Androni- kos II	Chrysobull	Privileges for the See	Original Dölger 2232-5, 2237-8 EO, 37, pp. 306-10
13		iii	?	Patr. John XIII	Synodical Act	Privileges for the See	NE, 12, p. 282
14	X		1301? June? 1302? May?	Androni- kos II	Chrysobull	Possessions of See	Copy Dölger 2236 MM, V, 161-65 VV, 32, 225
15	XI		1314? July? ind.12?	Androni- kos II	Chrysobull	Privileges for the See	Original Dölger, 2238 EO, 37, pp. 306-11
16	XII		1336? Nov.?	Androni- kos III	Chrysobull	Privileges for the city	Copy Dölger, 2383 Ps. Phrantzes, 538-42
17		iv	1347- 1348 Oct.	Patr. I- sidore	Patr. Sigilli- on	Transfer of Metropolitan to Monemvasia	Rég. Patr. 2297 MM, I, 274-75
18	XIII		1347? 1348? Oct.	John VI	Chrysobull	Privileges for the See	Copy Dölger, 3029 VV, 32, 221-28
19		v	1347? 1348? Oct.	Patr. I- sidore	Patr. Sigilli- on	Privileges for the See	Rég. Patr. 2298 NE, 12, pp. 282-3
20		vi	1354-5 1364?	Patr. Phi- lotheos	Patr. Sigilli- on	Exarchate	Rég. Patr. 2354 MM, II, 328-29 NE, 12, p. 293
21		b	1391-2	Despot Theodore I	Argyroboullos horismos	Privileges for the city	Copy MM, V, 171-4 KI. Chr., 32/28
22		vii	1397 March? April?	Patr. An- thony IV	Synodical Decision	Return of bishops to Corinth	Rég. Patr. 3044 MM, II, 287-92

No.	Imper.	Other	Date	Issuer	Kind	Contents	References
23		c	before 1405	Despot Theodore I	Argyroboullos horismos	Donation to the See	Chr.24.XIV <u>MM</u> ,V,169
24	XIV		1405 Sept. 6914 ind.14	Manuel II	Chrysobull	Donation to the See	Dölger,3307 <u>MM</u> ,V,168-70
25	XV		?	Manuel II	Chrysobull	Privileges for the See	Dölger,3401 <u>MM</u> ,V,176
26	XVI		1428-9	John VIII	Chrysobull	Privileges for the See	Dölger,3518 Kl.Chr.32/41 <u>MM</u> ,V,176
27		viii	1428-9	Patr.Jo- seph II	Patr.Sigilli- on	Privileges for the See	<u>MM</u> ,V,176
28		ix	1440- 1443	Patr.Me- trophas- nes II	Patr.Sigilli- on	?	<u>MM</u> ,V,176
29		d	1442 Dec. 6951 ind.6	Despot Theodore II	Argyroboullos horismos	Privileges for the city	Copy <u>MM</u> ,V,174-5
30		e	1450 Febr. 6958 ind.13	Despot Demetri- os	Argyroboullos horismos	Privileges for the city	Copy <u>MM</u> ,V,170-1

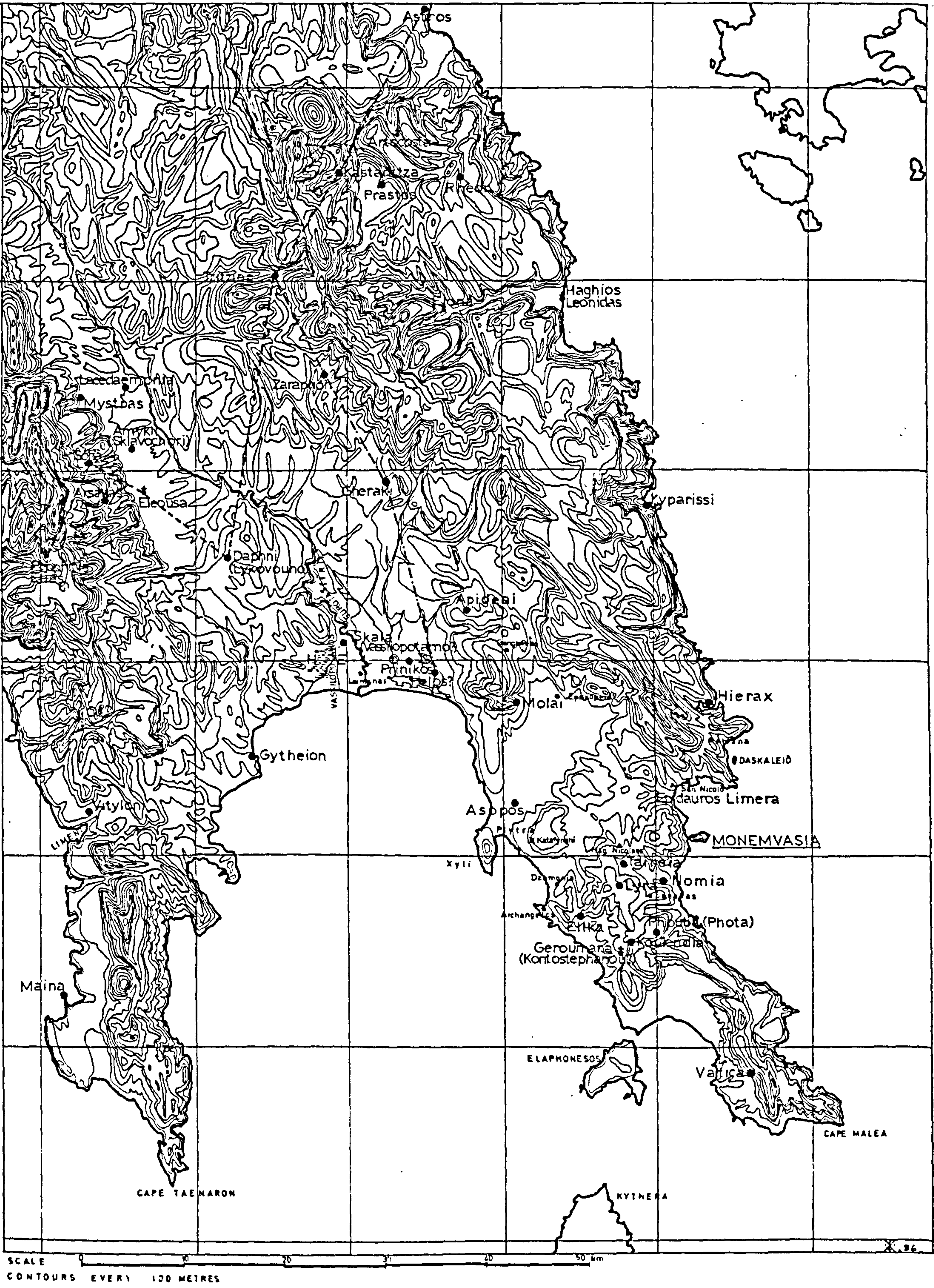
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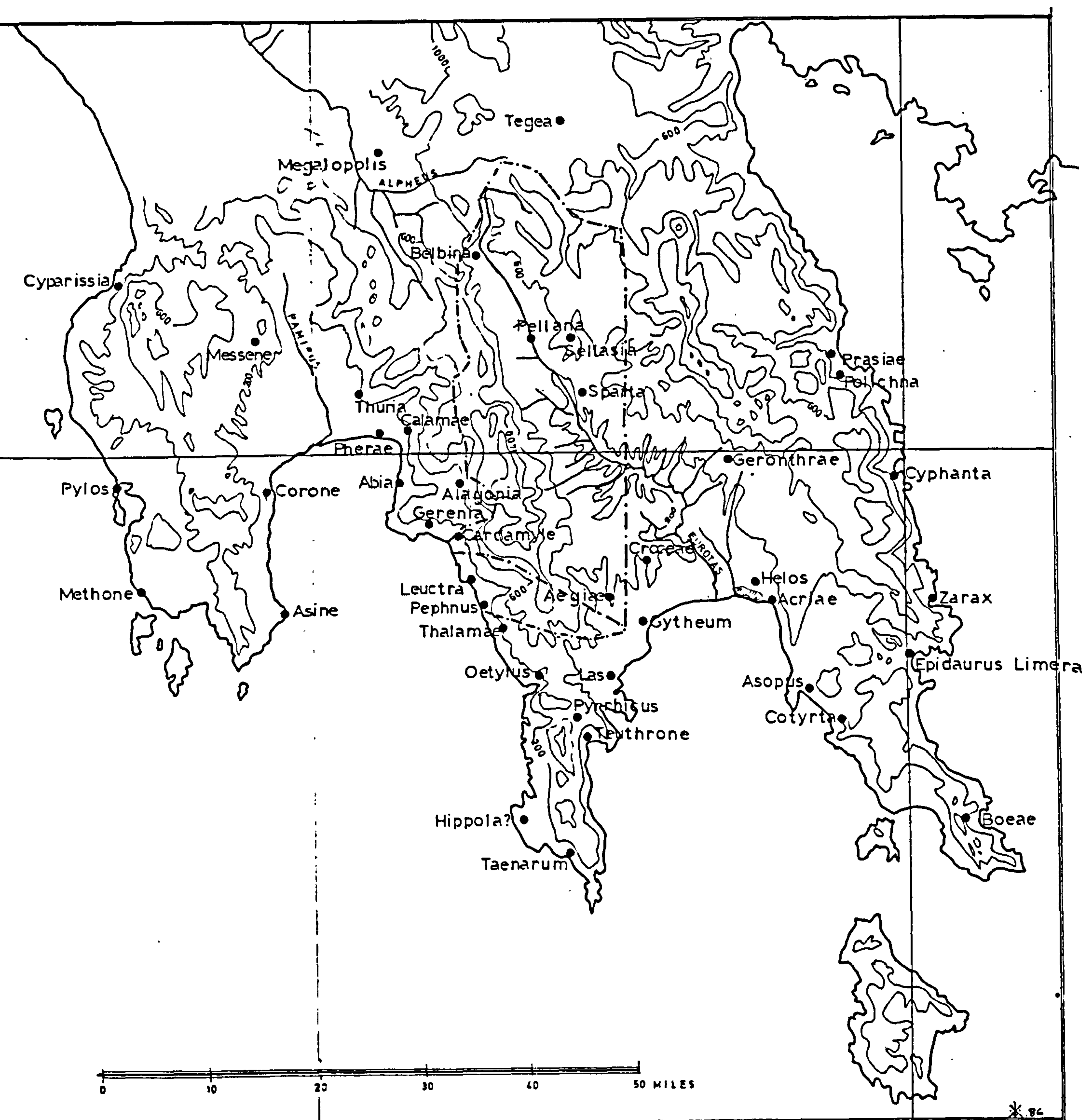
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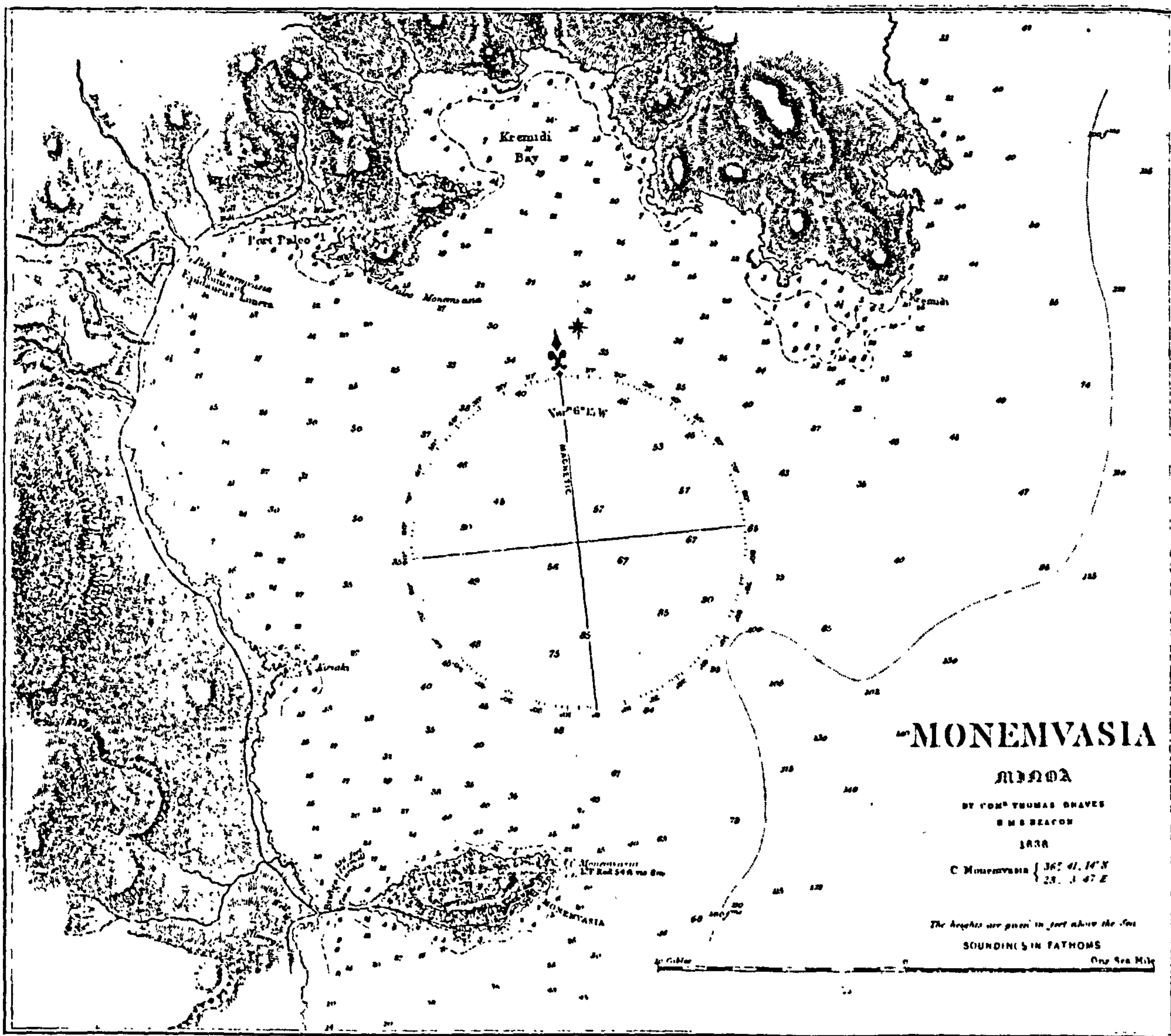
1 . T h e P e l o p o n n e s e



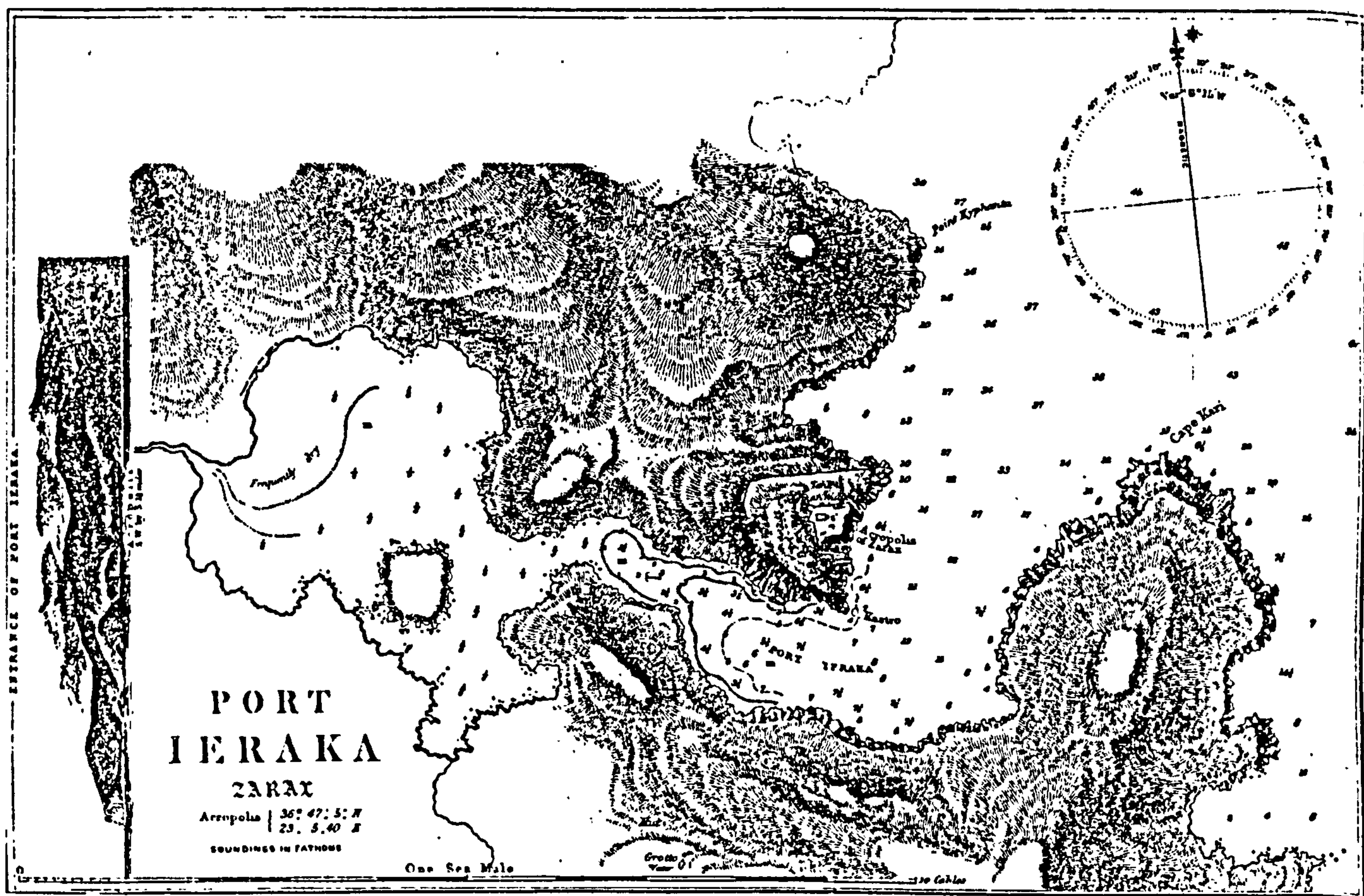
2. The peninsula of Laconiké



3 . Boundaries between the territory of Sparta and
of the Eleutherolacones (After Chrimes)



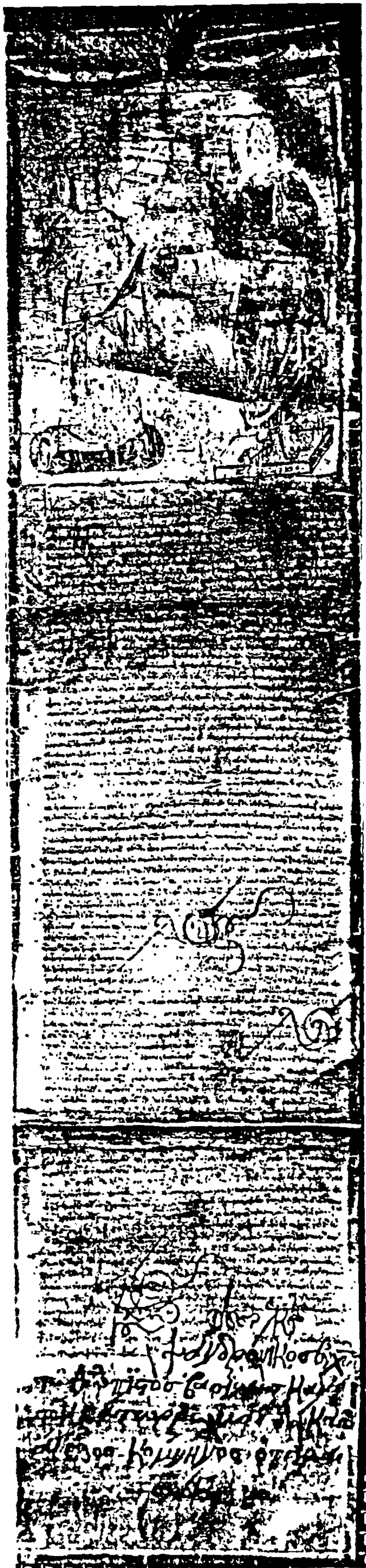
7 . Monemvasia and Epidauros Limera
(Admiralty Chart, 1838)



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13 . Miniature in the chrysobull of 1301 (B)





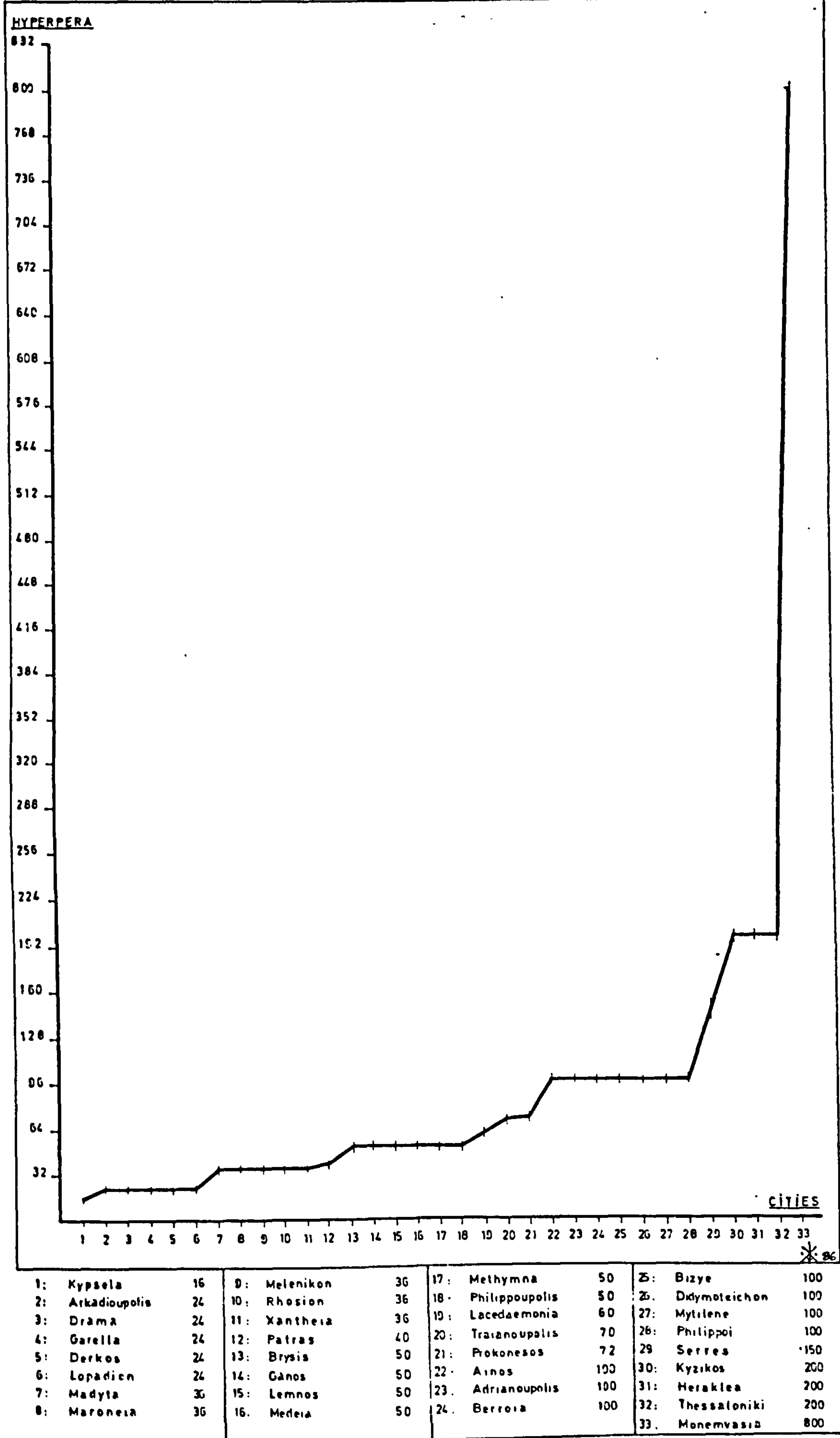
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23 . Ms. Neapol. Gr. C-II-36, fol. 64^r. Copy of
chrysobull A by Macarios Melissenos. 5th part

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25 . Contributions of the metropolitan Sees of the
Byzantine Empire to the Patriarchate in 1324